

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 419 767

SC 028 916

AUTHOR Wilkens, Craig, Ed.
TITLE El Salvador: Conflict and Change: A Secondary Curriculum.
INSTITUTION Resource Center of the Americas, Minneapolis, MN.
PUB DATE 1992-00-00
NOTE 97p.
AVAILABLE FROM Resource Center of the Americas, 317 17th Avenue, SE,
Minneapolis, MN 55414; telephone: 612-627-9445.
PUB TYPE Guides - Non-Classroom (055)
EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Area Studies; Cultural Awareness; Foreign Countries;
Geography; Global Education; Instructional Materials; *Latin
American Culture; *Latin American History; *Latin Americans;
Mexicans; *Multicultural Education; Secondary Education;
Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS *El Salvador

ABSTRACT

This curriculum emphasizes El Salvador's physical and human geography and involves students in active learning situations using critical and creative thinking skills. The seven lessons include: (1) "Why Study El Salvador?"; (2) "Where in the World Is El Salvador?"; (3) "Picturing El Salvador: Looking Beyond the Numbers"; (4) "Life and Land in El Salvador"; (5) "El Salvador: Negotiating Peace"; (6) "El Salvador: Decisions at Your Door"; and (7) "What's a Good Citizen To Do?" The extensive appendices offer numerous additional resources and teaching ideas. (EH)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

ED 419 767

EL SALVADOR

CONFLICT — AND — CHANGE

A Secondary Curriculum



PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND
DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFORM
AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC
COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

MARY A.
SWENSON

2A TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to
improve reproduction quality.

* Points of view or opinions stated in this
document do not necessarily represent
official OERI position or policy.

SO 028 916

By the Educators' Committee of the
Resource Center of The Americas

3 17th Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414

2

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE OF CONTENTS



Acknowledgements Page 2

Overview Page 3

**Summary
of the Lessons Page 4**

Lesson 1. Page 5
WHY STUDY EL SALVADOR?

Lesson 2. Page 8
**WHERE IN THE WORLD IS
EL SALVADOR?**

Lesson 3. Page 11
**PICTURING EL SALVADOR:
LOOKING BEYOND THE NUMBERS**

Lesson 4. Page 14
LIFE AND LAND IN EL SALVADOR

Lesson 5. Page 22
EL SALVADOR: NEGOTIATING PEACE

Lesson 6. Page 34
**EL SALVADOR: DECISIONS AT YOUR
DOOR**

Lesson 7. Page 36
WHAT'S A GOOD CITIZEN TO DO?

Appendix Page 39

Acknowledgements

Assistance with design and production of this curriculum was provided by Dan Leisen, Communicators for Peace and Ranja Yusuf, Picas and Points. Assistance with editing was provided by Craig Wilkens.

Acknowledgements:

El Salvador: Roots of Conflict,

Teachers' Committee on Central America, Berkeley, California: 1982.

Pat Norby, "Hunger Strike in St. Paul," *Catholic Bulletin*, Nov. 30, 1989. Reprinted with permission from the publisher.

Faith Adams, El Salvador: Beauty Among the Ashes, Minneapolis: Dillon Press, 1986.

Hugh Byrne, "Basic Facts and Background Data," published by the El Salvador Public Information Campaign, 1990. P.O. Box 9326, Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone 1-800-533-5084.

Audry N. Clark, Ed. Longman Dictionary of Geography, Longman, Harlow, Essex, U.K.: Longman House, 1985.

William Bigelow and Jeff Edmundson, Inside the Volcano: A Curriculum on Nicaragua, Network of Educators on Central America, 1118 22nd Street N. W., Washington, D.C. 20037, 1990, phone (202) 429-0137.

William Bigelow and Linda Christensen, Lila, from Hispanic Heritage 9-12 Lesson Plans, Portland Public Schools, Portland, OR. 1989

Tom Barry, El Salvador A Country Guide, Albuquerque: Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1990.

El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry, EPICA, CRISPAZ, Religious Task Force on Central America. 1990.

Harriet Culley, Ed. "El Salvador: U.S. Policy," *Gist*, Washington D.C., Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, May, 1989. Phone (202) 647-1208.

Alfredo Cristiani, "Cut Aid, and See Democracy Abort," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 1, 1990.

Faribundo Martí Liberación Nacional, "FMLN Proclamation to the Nation: The Democratic Revolution," *The Alert!*, Oct. 1990, pp. 6-7.

No part of this curriculum may be reprinted for resale without permission of the authors.

A CURRICULUM ON EL SALVADOR

**BY THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF THE
RESOURCE CENTER OF THE AMERICAS:**

**Sara Damon
Rich Germundsen
Scott Peters
Winton Pitcoff
Mary Swenson**

This curriculum was created by the Education Committee of the Resource Center of The Americas, Minneapolis, Minnesota. This curriculum emphasizes Central American physical and human geographic skills and involves students in active learning situations using critical and creative thinking skills. It facilitates students' development and practice of citizenship skills. The curriculum provides an opportunity for students and teachers to examine and discuss an important global issue. Although the lessons are presented in sequence forming a teaching unit, they can be used individually or spread out over an entire school year. The committee encourages experimentation with these materials and strongly supports applications where students share in decisions about how they will be used.

For further ideas and information about educating about Central America, contact the Resource Center of The Americas, 317 17th Avenue S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414, (612) 627-9445 or Network of Educators on Central America (NECA), 1118- 22nd Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, (202) 429-0137.

CONTENTS

SUMMARY OF THE LESSONS

Lesson 1. Page 5

WHY STUDY EL SALVADOR?

This lesson provides a brief introduction to El Salvador and why the United States is involved with this nation. The lesson uses brainstorming, large group discussion, and supplies a pretest to measure prior student knowledge of the topic.

Lesson 2. Page 8

WHERE IN THE WORLD IS EL SALVADOR?

This lesson is intended to provide students with geographic skills practice. Cooperative learning tasks are presented and students work with resource packets to learn via discovery methods.

Lesson 3. Page 11

PICTURING EL SALVADOR: LOOKING BEYOND THE NUMBERS

In this lesson students come to know the El Salvador which is represented in charts, graphs and statistics. Students learn about choropleth maps, and make and analyze them using a data sheet on Central America. A closing activity encourages discussion of the limits of statistics, and the ways that they can be used to mislead.

Lesson 4. Page 14

LIFE AND LAND IN EL SALVADOR

This lesson has students consider life style based on socioeconomic status. Testimonies from Salvadorans from three economic levels provide students with a glimpse of Salvadoran society. Students read and discuss the testimonies in small groups, and then imagine how people in each economic level would respond to a set of life situations. A land distribution simulation activity introduces students to the disparity of wealth.

Lesson 5. Page 22

EL SALVADOR: NEGOTIATING PEACE

This lesson focuses on creative thinking and drama. Students are divided into groups representing various interests in El Salvador. With the help of resource packets they discover the basic perspective and situation of their group and then prepare a press conference to share these perspectives with others. Later, students role play a U.N. mediated negotiation session, then compare their results with the actual Salvadoran peace accords.

Lesson 6. Page 34

EL SALVADOR: DECISIONS AT YOUR DOOR.

This lesson is designed for grades 9-12. It focuses on decision making and incorporates letter writing and discussion. A Salvadoran woman has fled the repression in her country and entered the U. S. illegally. If caught, she will likely be deported to El Salvador, where she faces the possibility of torture and death. Students are asked to imagine themselves as part of a congregation which must decide whether to offer the woman "sanctuary." To do so would violate federal law. A discussion of the consequences of their choices follows. The lesson ends with a discussion about how a recent change in U.S. asylum law resulted from the actions of a small group of concerned citizens.

Lesson 7. Page 36

WHAT'S A GOOD CITIZEN TO DO?

This lesson encourages discussion and evaluation of citizenship skills. Students discuss their opinions on the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and then read examples of ways that people have worked to make change in society. The pretest is taken again as a post test. The lesson ends with a letter writing project to provide students with an experience in voicing their opinions.

LESSON 1

WHY STUDY EL SALVADOR?

Lesson Goals:

- Students will recall information about El Salvador.
- Students will discover connections between El Salvador and communities in the U.S.
- Students will identify reasons why people in the U.S. need to know about El Salvador and its people.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

Pretest and key
News article, "Hunger Strike in St. Paul"

MATERIALS TEACHER PROVIDES TO STUDENTS

Copies of Pretest
Copies of news article or local articles
Wall map of the world
Overhead projector

TIME REQUIRED

1-2 class periods

ANTICIPATORY SET / INTRODUCTION

Begin this lesson by asking your students to focus on what they already know about El Salvador. Have your students take out a sheet of scratch paper and individually make a list of any facts they know about this country or its people.

INSTRUCTIONAL SEQUENCE

Step 1. BRAINSTORMING Ask for volunteers to share ideas from their lists while you or individual students write these ideas on the board or overhead projector.

Step 2. PRETEST Divide your class into groups of three. Pass out copies of the **Pretest (Appendix 1A)**. Let the class know that this is not a graded test but a chance to see how much the group already knows. The pretest also is meant to show students the kind of information with which this unit will deal. Have your student groups discuss and answer the questions to the best of their abilities. Inform the groups that they should underline any terms they do not know for clarification later in the large group discussion following the pretest. Circulate among the groups to monitor and provide clarification of the task.

Step 3. LARGE GROUP DISCUSSION Using the pretest key which is supplied, review the expected responses with your class. Tie in any ideas generated during the **BRAINSTORMING** activity. Make sure all of the highlighted terms are discussed and that students are given ample time to ask questions or make comments based on their previous understanding of the topic. This would be an appropriate time to deal with any stereotypical or derogatory vocabulary as well as any counterproductive attitudes toward residents of "developing nations" which you may have overheard while observing group work. Set an open-minded tone which encourages students to seek new knowledge about this topic.

LESSON 1

Step 4. LOCAL CONNECTIONS Prior to teaching this lesson, seek out news articles which make clear connections between El Salvador and your local area. Attempt to build a bridge between student knowledge of their locale and the lives of people in El Salvador. If no connection can be found, use the article which is supplied. Have students read the article and then ask them why they think people in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area were willing to starve themselves to attract attention to events in El Salvador. (Appendix 1D)

CLOSURE

WHY STUDY EL SALVADOR? Ask students why people in the United States need to know about El Salvador and its people? You may find responses such as:

- The U.S. has spent millions of dollars in tax money there.
- There are approximately one million Salvadoran refugees in the U.S.
- We import many items from there.
- We export many of our manufactured products there.
- El Salvador is one of our Latin American neighbors.
- Some U.S. citizens have lost their lives there.
- U.S. military, business, church, and individual U.S. citizens are currently in El Salvador.

EXTENSION

See Appendix 1B for ideas on how to extend this lesson.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1A Pretest Key

Write true before each statement that is true and false before each statement that is false.

- True 1. El Salvador is part of both Central America and North America.
- True 2. El Salvador is one of the smallest countries in Latin America.
- False 3. The capital city of El Salvador is Managua.
- True 4. El Salvador has resources that U.S.-based corporations are interested in obtaining.
- False 5. People in El Salvador can expect to live longer than people in the U.S.
- False 6. El Salvador has a very high literacy rate.
- False 7. El Salvador has a very low infant mortality rate.
- False 8. The Roman Catholic Church has very little influence on the lives of the El Salvadoran people.
- True 9. There has been a conflict between various political forces in El Salvador.
- True 10. Many Salvadorans have left El Salvador and fled to the U.S.
- True 11. The U.S. government has sent hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid to the government of El Salvador.

LESSON 1

- False 12. Everyone in the United States agrees that the U.S. government should aid the government of El Salvador.
- True 13. The government of El Salvador has been accused of violating the **human rights** of its citizens.
- True 14. The U.S. Government has supported the Salvadoran Peace Accords between the government of El Salvador and the opposition forces.

Appendix 1B

Extension Ideas

- Investigate El Salvador related activities in your own community.
- Search for recent newspaper or magazine articles on El Salvador.
- Check the grocery store or clothing stores for products from El Salvador or Central America.
- Research community business ties with El Salvador.

LESSON 2

WHERE IN THE WORLD IS EL SALVADOR?

Lesson Goals:

- Students will label and interpret maps and charts related to El Salvador and Central America.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

- *World map
- *Western Hemisphere map
- Mexico and Central America map and items to locate El Salvador maps
- Map Worksheet with key
- Resource Packet, including Major Crops by Country, Major Minerals in Latin America, Percentage of Labor Force in Agriculture and Industry
- * can be used to make transparency

MATERIALS TEACHER PROVIDES TO STUDENTS

- Copies of any maps used, and list of items to locate
- Copies of Resource Packet
- Transparencies of maps
- Atlases
- Wall map
- Overhead projector

TIME REQUIRED

2 class periods

ANTICIPATORY SET / INTRODUCTION

Use transparencies of the **World and Western Hemisphere maps (Appendixes 2E and 2F)** to orient your students to the location of El Salvador. Ask students to define these sometimes confusing terms: Central America, Latin America, North America and South America. (see **Appendix 2A** for definition of these terms)

INSTRUCTIONAL SEQUENCE

Step 1. LOCATE AND DISCOVER Pass out copies of the **Mexico and Central America Map** with list of items to locate (**Appendix 2G**) as well as atlases and have students work individually or in pairs to locate and label the listed items. While students are working, circulate about the room to monitor understanding and insure successful task completion.

Step 2. CRITICAL MAP READING If students worked individually in Step 1, have them move into groups of three. If students worked in pairs in Step 1, they should now team up with another pair. Pass out the **Map Worksheet (Appendix 2B)** and one **Resource Packet (Appendixes 2J, 2K, 2L)** of materials per group. Encourage students to use the map they have just created as well as the **Resource Packet** to answer the worksheet questions. Circulate among student groups to monitor, check understanding, and guide students to successful task completion.

(This would be an appropriate activity to implement as a cooperative/team learning project. See Appendix 2C to find resources on implementing and grading via this method.)

CLOSURE

DISCUSSION Check student understanding by discussing the questions on the **Map Worksheet**. Collect map and worksheets if they are desired for grading.

EXTENSION

See **Appendix 2C** for ideas on how to extend this lesson.

APPENDIX

Appendix 2A

From Longman Dictionary of Geography:

CENTRAL AMERICA: This term is used to describe the land which lies between the Isthmus of Panama and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and includes Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama and Belize.

LATIN AMERICA: This term is widely used to cover those countries in the Western Hemisphere which were explored and conquered by the Spaniards or Portuguese and which became part of the Spanish or Portuguese Empires. This includes South America, Central America and Mexico.

NORTH AMERICA: This term is used geographically to mean the whole continent north of the isthmus of Panama, including the Caribbean islands.

SOUTH AMERICA: This term is used geographically to mean the continent south of the isthmus of Panama.

Appendix 2B

Map Worksheet Key

Directions: Using the maps of Latin America and Central America, answer the following questions. If you decide that the answer to a true/false question is "false," rewrite the statement so that it is true.

1. Which countries border on El Salvador? (Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua)
2. True or false: El Salvador is the smallest country in Latin America. (true)
3. True or false: El Salvador is the smallest country in Central America. (true)
4. Which Central American countries border on only one ocean? (Belize, El Salvador)
What advantages, disadvantages or problems might this cause? (Answers may vary.)
5. What are the main crops of El Salvador? (coffee, cotton, rice, corn, beans)
6. True or false: El Salvador is part of North America and Central America. (true)
7. What is the capital city of El Salvador? (San Salvador)
8. How many times would the land area of El Salvador fit into the land area of the 48 contiguous United States? (365 times)
9. True or false: El Salvador is north of the equator. (true)
10. Which direction would you go if you drove from El Salvador to Costa Rica? (southeast)
11. How do you think most people in Central America make a living? (farming--50% are in agriculture)
12. True or false: To drive directly from El Salvador to Mexico City you must go through Belize. (false)
13. True or false: The canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean is closer to Colombia than it is to El Salvador. (true)
14. True or False: El Salvador is directly south of Miami, Florida. (false)
15. Think of three reasons why the U.S., or other Central American countries, might be interested in what happens in El Salvador. (Answers may vary.)

LESSON 2

Appendix 2C Resources for Cooperative/Team Learning

Johnson, David W. and Johnson, Roger T. Learning Together and Alone: Cooperation, Competition, and Individualization. Interaction Book Company. New Brighton, MN. 1975.

Kagan, Spencer. Cooperative Learning: Resources for Teachers. Resources for Teachers. San Juan Capistrano, CA. 1989.

Slavin, Robert E. Using Student Team Learning. Center for Social Organization of Schools. The John Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, 1980.

Educational Leadership. Vol. 47, no. 4 December 1989/January 1990, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Alexandria, VA. This entire journal issue is devoted to cooperative learning topics.

Appendix 2D Extension Ideas

- Create a large political and/or physical map of El Salvador (project onto the wall with an overhead and trace).
- Create El Salvador thematic maps on topics such as:
 - natural resources
 - agricultural products
 - minerals
- Create devices for remembering countries (for example: "Gee, but eating hot nachos causes pain;" [Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama the countries of Central America from Guatemala to Panama.])
- Create an El Salvador geography quiz.
- Search the school library for geography reference books (e.g. World Almanac, State of the World Atlas, Information Please Almanac, Women in the World Atlas). Set up stations and have students answer different questions about El Salvador or Central America at each station.

LESSON 3

PICTURING EL SALVADOR: LOOKING BEYOND THE NUMBERS

Lesson Goals:

- Students will create and analyze choropleth maps showing socio-economic patterns in El Salvador and Central America.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

1986 Per Capita GNP Map
Data Sheet
Central America Maps (sheet of 3 maps)

MATERIALS TEACHER PROVIDES TO STUDENTS

Copies of Data Sheet
Copies of Central America Maps
Transparency of 1986 Per Capita GNP Map
Wall map
Overhead projector
Scratch paper

TIME REQUIRED

2 class periods

ANTICIPATORY SET/ INTRODUCTION

Explain that today's lesson will require the use of statistics. Discuss how statistics are gathered and how they can be used or abused by various groups. (See Appendix 3A)

INSTRUCTIONAL SEQUENCE

Step 1. WHAT IS A CHOROPLETH MAP?

Show students a transparency of the sample map, **1986 Per Capita GNP (Appendix 3D)**. Review the definition of per capita GNP if necessary. Ask students to define choropleth map* on the basis of this example. What kinds of information can they gather about Central America from looking at this map?

* A choropleth map is a map which uses patterns or shading to show different categories of information. Students can learn about the socioeconomic patterns of Central America and the world by creating and analyzing their own choropleth maps.

Step 2. MAKING CHOROPLETH MAPS

A. Write the list of topics below on the chalkboard or overhead and instruct students to choose one or more topics to map. If students are not familiar with the vocabulary, spend some time defining these terms and any others necessary:

POPULATION DENSITY
BIRTH RATE
DEATH RATE
POPULATION DOUBLING TIME
INFANT MORTALITY RATE
POPULATION % BELOW AGE 15
LIFE EXPECTANCY
URBAN POPULATION

B. Next, on scratch paper, have the students divide the data for each topic they are going to map into five approximately equal categories. For example, the first category, **PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE (Population Density)**, could be divided into the following five categories:

LESSON 3

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
25-149 150-274 275-399 400-524 525-649

C. Next, using the **Data Sheet, (Appendix 3E)** have the students write the names of the Central American countries underneath the appropriate numerical categories for each topic.

D. Next, have the students assign each numerical category a pattern such as vertical lines, horizontal lines, solid colors etc. Generally speaking, patterns should go from lighter to darker as numbers increase to illustrate degrees of the same factor. Refer back to the sample **1986 Per Capita GNP** map if needed. Students then fill in the countries with their designated patterns on the **Central America Maps**, one map per topic. (**Appendix 3F**)

E. Have the students create keys for their chloropleth maps and title them.

F. Have the students repeat this process for any additional topics they choose to map.

Step 3. ANALYZING THE MAPS

Have the students now analyze their maps, verbally or in written form. Use the **Data Sheet "Other Nations For Comparison"** to add perspective. Ask students to think about these questions:

- What kinds of patterns are visible on the maps?
- What are some possible explanations for these patterns?
- Explore as many variables as possible, for example, how people make a living, status of health care, educational opportunities, levels of industrialization and technology, cultural and religious values, ethnicity etc.
- Are there any groups of maps which seem to follow the same patterns? Why might this be?
- Are there any groups of maps which follow opposite patterns? Why might this be?

- What do these maps tell us about the lifestyle and standard of living in Central America?
- How do the Central American socio-economic statistics compare to the other nations listed?

Suggested Numerical Categories:

These can be written on the blackboard or put on a handout to speed up the mapmaking process. Otherwise, have students figure out the categories themselves.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
25-149 150-274 275-399 400-524 525-649

BIRTH RATE:
27-29 30-32 33-35 36-38 39-42

DEATH RATE:
4-5 6-7 8-9

POPULATION DOUBLING TIME (in years)
20-22 23-25 26-27 28-30 31-32

INFANT MORTALITY RATE
17-27 28-38 39-49 50-60 61-71

POPULATION % BELOW AGE 15
36-38 39-40 41-42 43-44 45-47

LIFE EXPECTANCY (in years)
62-64 65-67 68-70 71-73 74-76

% URBAN POPULATION
40-43 44-47 48-51 52-55 56-59

C. CLOSURE

CAN NUMBERS MISLEAD? Ask students "What are statistics? What do we learn from them? What kinds of things are difficult to learn from statistics?" See **Appendix 3A** for examples of how statistics can mislead.

D. EXTENSION See **Appendix 3B** for ideas on how to extend this lesson.

LESSON 3

APPENDIX

Appendix 3A

Examples of How Statistics Can Mislead

1. Adjusting for Inflation

When budgets are debated in the U.S. Congress, if an item will receive more money than the previous year in constant dollars, but less money if the rate of inflation is considered, it can be called a "cut" by those who support the item, and an "increase" by those who oppose it.

2. How an Overall High School Graduation Rate Hides Socioeconomic Disparities

The national U.S. high school graduation rate is about 70.1%. That leaves a dropout rate of 29.9%. However, dropout rates vary widely among social and ethnic groups.

American Indian/Alaskan Native	42.0%
Hispanics	39.9%
Blacks	24.7%
Whites	14.3%
Asian/Pacific Islanders	9.6%

Three cities with the highest dropout rates:

East Los Angeles	60%
Boston	50%
Washington, DC	45%

"Students from low-income family backgrounds are about three times as likely to dropout of school as students from wealthy families."

Myra and David Sadker, Teachers, Schools and Society. New York: McGraw Hill, 1991, pp. 487-488.

"Urban Native American and Puerto Ricans have dropout rates of 70-80 percent."

Jones, Johnson et al, Foundations of American Education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1991, p. 162.

A Heritage Foundation study states that the 30% U.S. dropout rate is misleading. It fails to take into account adults over 20 who return to complete a GED. By age 24, 87% of U.S. citizens have-completed high school.

Teacher, Vol. 2 #4, Jan. 1991, p. 25.

Appendix 3B

EXTENSION IDEAS

- Use a database such as MECC World Dataquest as a source for social and economic indicators.
- Create graphs and charts.
- Use piles of poker chips to create a token economy representing El Salvador's social and economic indicators. Compare and contrast them with other countries.
- Research actions that Central American people are taking to improve their standard of living such as literacy campaigns, popular education programs, farm cooperatives and health care programs.
- Investigate other facts and figures in such resources as World Almanac and Information Please Almanac.
- Show students "mystery maps" on an overhead projector. Ask them to guess what is being represented.

LESSON 4

LIFE AND LAND IN EL SALVADOR

Lesson Goals:

- Students will simulate the pattern of land ownership in El Salvador.
- Students will generalize about the lifestyle differences among the socio-economic groups of El Salvador.
- Students will reflect on possible responses to life and land issues in El Salvador and the U.S.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

*Division of Population Graph
*Division of Income Graph
Group Descriptions Sheet
Group Options Sheet
Testimonials
Life Situations

*Can be used to make transparencies

MATERIALS TEACHER PROVIDES TO STUDENTS

Group Descriptions Sheet
Group Options Sheet
Copies of Testimonials
Copies of Life Situations
Masking tape
M & M candies (optional)

TIME REQUIRED

1-2 class periods

ANTICIPATORY SET/INTRODUCTION

Find magazine pictures or resource books from a local library which depict Latin American life scenes of the wealthy, middle class, and peasant/worker. Ask students to speculate what life would be like on a daily basis for someone in each of these life situations.

INSTRUCTIONAL SEQUENCE

Step 1. SALVADORAN SOCIETY. Use the graphs to describe the make-up of the Salvadoran society. (**Appendix 4 F, G**)

wealthy	= about 1% of population
middle income	= about 24% of population
low-income	= about 74% of the population

Richest 20% of the population control 66% of income.

Poorest 20% of the population control 2% of income.

70% of the rural population live below minimum nutritional requirements.

(Statistics from Tom Barry, *El Salvador: A Country Guide*. Albuquerque, Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1990.)

Step 2. TESTIMONIALS. Divide the class into three groups: the wealthy with one or two students, middle income with 1/4th of the students, and the low-income peasant/workers comprised of the remainder of the students. (You may want to subdivide the low-income group to help facilitate discussion.) Supply each group with a copy of the appropriate **Testimonial** (see **Appendix 4A**) and ask that one student read it to the rest of the group. Students should be encouraged to discuss and speculate about each life-style.

Step 3. DISCUSSION OF LIFE

SITUATIONS. Using the same groups, supply several life situations for students to discuss based on their group status. (See **Appendix 4B**) Each group should receive the same situations.

LESSON 4

After there has been time to discuss the situations within the groups, have each group present its opinions so the other groups can see the situations from different perspectives.

Step 4 LAND DISTRIBUTION SIMULATION

1. Before class, mark off with tape a space on the floor roughly 15' x 10'. Divide this area lengthwise with tape into sections that are 60% and 40% of the space.

2. Explain to the class that they are going to take part in a demonstration of land ownership in El Salvador, and that the diagram on the floor represents the total arable (farmable) land area of the country.

3. Choose one assertive student who will be able to effectively represent the 2% of the landowners that own 60% of the farmland. Choose about 35% of the class (eleven students in a group of thirty) to fill in the remaining 40% section.

These are subsistence or medium-sized land holders. Explain to the remaining students that they represent the rural landless, and are out of luck because they don't own anything but their own ability to work. Ask them to line up along the tape, just outside the rectangle.

NOTE: These figures are very rough, but work fine as an introduction to the issues raised by unequal distribution of agricultural land.

4. Hand each student their appropriate **Group Description Sheet (Appendix 4C)**.

Have a student from each group read aloud their group description sheet to the whole class. Ask students what actions they can take to survive.

5. (Optional) Use M & M candies to represent money. Explain to students that two M & Ms are required to be able to live at a bare subsistence level. Give two packets of candies to the owner. One packet should contain 10 to 12 M & Ms. Tell the landowner these are for his/her personal consumption. Encourage the owner to eat the

candies at his/her leisure. Give a second packet of candies to the owner. The packet should contain a number of M & M candies roughly equal to the number of students not in the rectangle. Explain to the group that this is the owner's wage packet and that these M & M candies may be used to hire the landless to do whatever work the owner needs to have performed — for the purpose of the simulation the landless might move or clean desks, sweep the floor, or simply pretend they are doing agricultural labor for the owner. Tell the students that competition for these jobs is very intense as the landless are starving and the owner doesn't have enough work to go around. Give two M & M candies to each of the small farmers. They are surviving — barely.

6. If you decide not to use the M & M candies, simply tell students that the owner is not able, or willing, to hire all the landless. Ask each group to reflect on the possible actions they talked about earlier. If some of the landless say that they would try to work for change, ask the small farmers whether or not they would support the landless' efforts or if they're unwilling to rock the boat.

7. Allow the simulation to proceed for as long as you wish (up to a full class period). If students have difficulty coming up with ideas, hand them their respective **Group Options Sheet (Appendix 4D)**. Offer suggestions to facilitate action. Encourage action by emphasizing to the landless that their very survival depends upon their ability to improve their situation.

8. After you have ended the simulation, facilitate a discussion on what the students feel they have learned. Discussion questions could include:

(To the landless):

How did you feel about the way the owners treated you? The small farmers?

How did you react when you saw that there wouldn't be enough work for all the landless and that you might starve?

LESSON 4

Why did you take the actions you did? e.g., to flee the country, to turn to crime, to work for the landowner, etc.

Was there competition between the landless or did people pretty much stick together? Why?

Why do you think some people tolerate these conditions? (Do they lack trust in each other or their ability to work together? Do they feel that the money of the owners will be able to corrupt some people? Do you feel that you don't deserve any better conditions? Do they think that the government will side with the rich against the poor?)

How do you feel about the rich? (Do you resent them? Are you envious and want to be one of them?)

(To the small farmers):

What would determine whether you would help the landless try to make conditions in your country more fair?

How do you feel about the rich? (Do you resent them? Are you envious and want to be one of them?)

(To the owners):

When you hired people to work for you, how did you decide how much to pay them?

Was it enough for them to survive?

Were you worried that the poor might unite and demand higher wages or overthrow the system of ownership?

Did you do anything to prevent the landless from uniting with one another or with the small farmers?

What would you have done if the poor had attempted to take your land from you?

How can you justify benefiting from such a blatantly unfair distribution of land?

(To all students):

What do you think is the history of this system of unequal ownership of land and wealth—how did a few people come to own so much?

(This land distribution simulation is adapted from *Inside the Volcano: A Curriculum on Nicaragua* by William Bigelow and Jeff Edmundson. See Acknowledgments.)

CLOSURE

We have seen how a Salvadoran's socioeconomic status affects their life situation. How does socioeconomic status affect the lives of people who live in the U.S.?

EXTENSION

See **Appendix 4E** for ideas on how to extend this lesson.

APPENDIX

Appendix 4A

Testimonials

TERESA'S SCHOOL DAY

(Middle Class)

Teresa's school is on the edge of the town where she lives. Every morning she walks to school wearing a white blouse, plaid skirt, white stockings, and black shoes. Teresa carries her books in a book bag called a *bolsone*. Girls carry their books in a bookbag while boys carry their books in a backpack.

As Teresa approaches the school, she can hear her classmates playing in the school yard. The school is made up of three long buildings in a row with a soccer field at one end. Teresa walks fast because she doesn't want to be late for *formación*. She arrives just in time, waves to her friend Luisa, and gets in line with her classmates.

After *formación* Teresa and her third grade classmates go to their room and wait for their teacher. When *Senorita Lopez* walks in, she says "Buenos dias, clase." ("Good morning, class") "*Buenos dias, Senorita Lopez,*" the class responds. Then *Senorita Lopez* takes roll. When she says "Teresa Rivera," Teresa stands up and says "presente" ("present").

Math - Teresa's favorite subject - is the first class of the day. Since her class is large (there

LESSON 4

are forty five students in one room) and because there are not enough books to go around, each student shares a book with a math partner. Today Teresa is called on to demonstrate a multiplication problem on the blackboard. Senorita Lopez compliments her for doing it correctly and continues the lesson.

Each class period lasts one hour. After the first period, there is a short recess when the students go outside to play and buy mangoes or candies from the nearest vendor. When recess is over, it's time for social science. Since the third graders are learning about their country, Senorita Lopez calls fourteen students to the front of the class. Each of them represents one of the departments, or provinces, of El Salvador. She asks them, one at a time, to name the capital of their department, the major rivers and lakes, and several other places and geographic features of their country.

The last two classes of the day are Spanish grammar and natural science. In grammar class, the students practice verb conjugations. Senorita Lopez says "comer" (to eat), and the class responds: "como" ("I eat"); "comes" ("you eat"); "come" ("he/she eats"); "comemos" ("we eat"); "comen" ("they eat"). The students continue with harder verbs and then work on spelling.

Science class is spent discussing various kinds of trees found in El Salvador. When the clock strikes twelve and the bell rings, Teresa stuffs her books in her bolsone. But she doesn't leave before Senorita Lopez says "Deberes, clase" ("homework, class") and quickly writes a homework assignment on the board. Teresa copies the assignment in her notebook and then runs home.

Teresa's mother has prepared a big lunch of soup, tortillas, chicken, and rice. Since Teresa is very hungry, she sets the table quickly. After lunch and a short nap, she goes to her friend

Luisa's house to meet with her study group. Everyone in Teresa's class belongs to a study group made up of twelve to fifteen students. Study groups prepare for the final exams given at the end of October. All Salvadoran students take final exams at the end of the school year, and the third graders will be tested on the four classes they have. Students who don't pass the exam have to repeat the grade. This afternoon Teresa's study group decides to work on spelling.

TOMAS'S STORY

(Low-Income)

Tomas started the first grade when he was seven. Because his family was poor, it took a great deal of effort for him to finish primary school. In first grade Tomas didn't have shoes. He had to wear patched shorts instead of long pants, and he had only one shirt. He carried a thin notebook and a pencil in a plastic bag. During recess, when most of his classmates were outside playing, Tomas stayed inside to study. He wanted to learn as much as he could since he hoped to go to the university some day.

When Tomas was in third grade, he had to work during the day. He hoed tobacco and earned money equal to twenty five U.S. cents for fifteen hours of work. At night Tomas went to school. When he was working, he could buy himself a pair of shoes and a pair of long pants.

Tomas didn't have the opportunity to attend secondary school because the war caused his school to close. Now he reads books at the priest's library and picks up any piece of paper he sees on the street, just to practice his reading. Tomas would like to return to school some day, but he doesn't know when that will be possible.

LESSON 4

MARIA'S STORY

(Wealthy)

Our school year starts in January. We have a week off in March (Holy Week). In the summer, we have about two weeks off and in October, we are finished.

Every weekday I wake up at 5:30 a.m. to get ready to go to school; at 6:30 I ride the bus. We start classes at 7:20, with five main classes (math, science, social studies, Spanish and English). In senior high and in 9th grade you have more main classes like physics, biology and chemistry. We have English every day.

We are finished with the school day at 2:15 or 3:30 or 12:00 (it is a different time every day).

If you want to be a teacher, you take an extra grade (12) and you graduate as a teacher from school.

After school you can practice different sports like volleyball, basketball, track, swimming, and softball, but they are optional. Then you can compete against different schools. Not too many people practice sports in school; for instance, I prefer to go to other clubs.

After school I always have something to do. I go home and get ready to go to my tennis or jazz practice in a club. You can be part of a team and compete against other clubs.

When I'm finished, I go to the supermarket or to my grandparents with my mom. Then I get home and do my homework, watch TV and eat supper, and go to bed about 10:00 p.m.

For my school, religion is very important, so we have a lot of different activities on holidays, like parades, games, ceremonies or days off.

For fun, most Friday nights we go to the show or to fast food restaurants with friends. Later, we

have a party with people from different schools. There are lots of people, about 400 to 800, ages 13-19. These parties are in clubs or big houses.

On Saturday we wake up about 9:30, eat breakfast and get ready to go to my grandparents to eat dinner with all the cousins, aunts and uncles. We are about 48 all together, and sometimes we go to church on Saturday night. Some Saturday nights we have parties also.

On Sundays we wake up late and we have breakfast all together. Then we go to my grandparents house to eat dinner—with all of the family together. We eat, talk and then we go back home and watch TV, and get ready to start another week.

When we are on vacation, we do different things, like sometimes I go to a kind of summer school, where we practice sports, painting, cooking and doing other things; or we just stay home; and in my case, all my cousins, aunts, uncles and grandmother live in the same place and we have a big garden where every morning and afternoon we play different games like soccer, basketball, baseball and tennis.

On some weekends and holidays we go to my weekend house, that is near a lake (3 hours from the city), and we swim, play volleyball, baseball and we water-ski, ride boats and windsurf all morning and afternoon.

At night we play games like Pictionary, Monopoly, Clue and Scruples, or get together with lots of friends with houses near this lake and have some pop and chips and talk and listen to music.

We have maids who cook and clean our houses.

LESSON 4

Appendix 4B Life Situations

Discuss and try to resolve several of the following situations:

1. One of the major breadwinners in your family gets ill. How does this affect the family?
2. You wake up sick one morning. What are the options for you and family members?
3. The bus fare went up from 5 to 10 cents. How does this affect you?
4. Look out your window. What do you see? Create a vision for the rest of the class. Give the group options for how to present the information.
5. Inflation is up 100% from last month. How does this affect you?
6. School is out for the day and you have no homework. What options for recreation are there?
7. Describe a typical school day.
8. The government has cut the education budget by 50%. How does this affect your group?
9. What does education mean to you as a member of your group? What effect will it have on your future as a member of that group?
10. Imagine you are in the group with the top 20% of income. How do you feel about other groups?
11. You see a poor person caught stealing food. How do you feel? What do you feel a fair treatment for this person would be?
12. The school year has ended. What are your plans for this time off of school?

Groups should share their ideas on the topics selected.

Appendix 4C GROUP DESCRIPTIONS

Wealthy Landowner

You represent less than 2% of the population of El Salvador, but you own over 60% of the agricultural land. You are very, very wealthy, a millionaire. You grow coffee and other crops for export, because you can make more money on these export crops than you can growing corn, beans and vegetables for consumption within El Salvador. Most of the exports from your plantation are shipped to the U.S. and you make a very handsome profit. You often travel to the U.S. You have friends in the U.S., some of whom are very influential.

You hire peasants to work on your plantation. You feel that you are providing jobs, and that you are bringing wealth into the country. You strongly believe in the free enterprise system. You pay the workers on your plantation \$2 per day. They take the jobs because there are no other jobs available.

You know that most Salvadorans are poor, and do not own any land. You know that they want land to grow food to feed themselves and their children. You feel that if they did receive land, they wouldn't know how to farm it. You also feel threatened, because you are outnumbered by the massive numbers of poor people who want land.

THE LANDLESS

You own nothing but the ability to work. However, El Salvador has 65% unemployment. It is very difficult to find a job. You and your children are malnourished. You want a job that pays a living wage, or land on which you can grow corn and vegetables for yourselves and your children. You want housing and access to health care.

LESSON 4

You are well aware of the inequalities in El Salvador. You know things need to change. You also know that in the past, people who spoke out often were "disappeared."

You survived the twelve years of civil war. You want peace.

SUBSISTENCE/MEDIUM SIZE LAND OWNERS

You own small plots of land which you inherited from your ancestors. The plots of land are just large enough to enable you to subsist--to grow barely enough corn and vegetables to feed your family. You have very little. You generally can't afford to buy much. Often your children can't go to school, because you need them to help in the field, or to bring in money for the family by gathering and selling firewood or some other job. You would like to have more, to make life better, but you just aren't able to get beyond surviving.

You know that there are people much poorer than you, and you see the extreme wealth of the plantation owner. You know that things are unfair in El Salvador. Sometimes, organizers ask you to join them to work for change, but often, you feel that to keep what you have safe, you better not say anything. There had been too many "disappearances" and "death squad" massacres during the war years.

You were tired of the war and you want peace for El Salvador.

THE MILITARY

Your job is to guard the "status quo"--the current distribution of wealth and land. Being in the military means a job, regular meals and boots on your feet. You have been trained to think of anyone who is trying to change things in El Salvador as a threat, a "subversive" or a "terror-

ist". You are trained to follow orders. You do what your superior officers tell you to do. You were targeted by the FMLN guerrillas during the war.

Appendix 4D

GROUP OPTIONS

WEALTHY LANDOWNER—Options

To enable you to feel more secure, you might consider hiring a couple of peasants, fairly cheaply, to guard your plantation, and be your bodyguards. You can pay them two M&M's a day.

You know that it is in your interest to keep these peasants under control, and so you recognize that a strong army which will defend the interests of the landowners is essential to maintaining the status quo. You support the idea of a strong army in El Salvador. You can secretly put in the request to your friends in high places in the army, to threaten those who are organizing for higher wages or for land redistribution with "disappearances." To encourage this, you might pay the soldiers involved. You could pay them 2 M&M's.

Or you might be able to buy off the organizer, to keep him/her quiet and satisfied.

On the other hand, you might explore ways of justly resolving the situation with the landless and small landowners and your employees.

THE LANDLESS—Options

You can try to convince the wealthy plantation owner that you are a very good worker, and that he should hire you.

You can turn to crime and steal from people who own property.

LESSON 4

You can join together to organize to demand land redistribution, or jobs. You can ask the small farmers to help you. But, there may be consequences. During the war, hundreds of people were "disappeared" for their efforts.

You can try to find a better life in another country. You can become a refugee in hopes of finding a job in another country.

SUBSISTENCE/MEDIUM SIZE LAND OWNERS—Options

You could try to convince other small landowners to join together in co-operatives. This might help you save money on necessary farming instruments, and farm animals, because the price goes down when these things are purchased in larger quantities. Cooperative farming, on a small scale, may be more efficient.

You could join those who are working for and demanding a more fair distribution of the land, and just wages, which would improve the living conditions of the majority. But to do so might risk your life.

You could make money by offering to spy on your neighbors for the plantation owner—to keep an eye out for possible "trouble makers" i.e. organizers.

THE MILITARY—Options

You can continue to be a good soldier and follow orders.

You could desert the army, but this would mean going into hiding within El Salvador, because the rest of the army would search for you and may kill you if you were found. You could flee the country and become a refugee.

You could desert the army and sell your rifle on the black market. The cost of one M16 rifle is

more than the annual income of the average Salvadoran.

Appendix 4E Extension Ideas

- Write a story about "A Day in the Life of a U.S. Citizen." Compare and contrast it with stories about Salvadorans.
- Invite a guest speaker. Make use of foreign exchange students at high schools and universities, or contact local groups working with Salvadoran refugees.
- Write letters to Salvadoran students and/or schools. (contact Network of Educators on Central America, 1118 22nd Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, phone (202) 429-0137 for information).
- Plan an El Salvador/Central America fair or theme week with maps, displays, food, music, etc.
- Show a film, video or slides. For ideas on audiovisuals, contact the Resource Center of The Americas, 317 17th Avenue S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414, (612) 627-9445.

LESSON 5

EL SALVADOR: NEGOTIATING PEACE

Lesson Goals:

- Students will create a press conference, statement and banner presenting a variety of perspectives on events in El Salvador.
- Students will justify their perspectives during a question and answer session following the press conference.
- Students will determine terms for a peace agreement.
- Students will compare and contrast their peace agreement with the actual Salvadoran Peace Accords.

Note to Teacher: A peace agreement was signed on December 31, 1991 between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN. You may choose to tell your students this before or after the lesson.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

Background Sheet
Group Questions, Position Statements and Talking Points Sheet
"Has Peace Really Arrived?" article
"Status of the Peace Accords" article

MATERIALS TEACHER PROVIDES TO STUDENTS

Copies of Background Sheet
Copies of Group Questions, Position Statements and Talking Points Sheet
Copies of "Has Peace Really Arrived?" article
Copies of "Status of the Peace Accords" article
Butcher paper and markers for banners

TIME REQUIRED

3-4 Class Periods

ANTICIPATORY SET/ INTRODUCTION

Begin this lesson by asking students what they think each of the following groups want to see happen in El Salvador :

Salvadoran Government
The Wealthy
Peasants/Workers
The Church
U. S. Government
FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front)

INSTRUCTIONAL SEQUENCE

SUGGESTION: If you have only three days, do steps one through four. If you have four days or more, include steps five and six.

Step 1. BACKGROUND BRIEFING. Pass out copies of the **Background Sheet (Appendix 5A)** and as a large group highlight the main points.

Step 2. GROUP DISCOVERY. Divide your class into five groups which include the following: the Salvadoran Government/Military, Peasants/Workers, the Church, the U.S. Government officials and the FMLN guerrillas. Provide each group with their **Group Questions, Position Statements and Talking Points Sheet. (Appendix 5B)**. Have each group read their materials and answer the questions so it can effectively present what it wants to see happen in El Salvador. (The reading of both the Background Sheet and the group materials can be given as homework in advance of this session.) Encourage students to try to step into the life of a member of this group. As members of their respective groups in El Salvador, how do they feel about events in El Salvador? How have their lives been affected? What are their hopes and dreams for their families and their nation? Ask students to think of three changes which they would want to see happen in El Salvador

LESSON 5

which would benefit their particular group. Have the students write these three changes down for future reference. (This information is essential in helping students prepare for the following activities. In Steps 3 and 4, students prepare for and hold a press conference. In Step 5, students determine their respective negotiable demands and go through the process of actually negotiating solutions to their situations.)

Step 3. PREPARING FOR A PRESS CONFERENCE.

Have each group prepare a press statement which will be read at a press conference to publicize its perspectives on issues in El Salvador. Each group's press statement should incorporate three main points representing their position on the situation in El Salvador, taken from the materials they read in Step 2. Have each group make a banner symbolizing who they are, to be placed near them during their press conference.

Step 4. HOLDING THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

Have the respective groups take turns holding their press conferences. Each group should sit or stand in the front of the class, with its banner and read its prepared press statement. Encourage the press conferees to assume roles and to actively portray the views of their group. (This should take 5 minutes or less.) Inform the rest of the class they are to role play the reporters and writers who have come to the press conference to take notes and ask questions of the conferees to clarify their political position.

Step 5. NEGOTIATION SESSION.

Tell the class that there will be a negotiation session between the FMLN guerillas and the Salvadoran government, mediated by the United Nations. The aim of the negotiation session is to end the fighting and find solutions to El Salvador's problems.

Prior to the negotiation session, the FMLN group and the Salvadoran group should meet separately and determine within their respective groups three issues they would be willing to negotiate about, i.e. be flexible about, and also determine any issues they would consider to be absolutely out of the question, i.e. non-negotiable. Have each of the two groups write their three negotiable issues down on a large sheet of butcher paper. (If students have a difficult time thinking of negotiable issues, you might start them off by suggesting the following: "The FMLN would be willing to disarm, if the Salvadoran military would agree to stay out of the territory which the FMLN now controls," or "the Salvadoran government will decrease the number of soldiers in the army if the FMLN agrees to withdraw its guerillas to designated areas."

While the FMLN and the Salvadoran government are separately determining their negotiable issues, have the other groups (the Peasants/Workers, the Church, the U.S. Government officials) meet separately and decide upon three points they would want to see implemented during the negotiations. Then, using these points, each group should decide which of the two negotiating teams they will side with, based upon perceived common goals. (If students are split amongst themselves over which side they favor, allow the students to choose sides as individuals. The teacher could inform students that in reality, the peasants and labor organizations leaned toward the positions favored by the FMLN; the U.S government supported the side of the Salvadoran government; and the Church, which often worked toward a peaceful dialogue between the sides, predominantly would favor the social changes proposed by the FMLN.) Option: during this "choosing sides" session, the teacher could also appoint a few students to represent the wealthy, who predominantly would support the Salvadoran government.

LESSON 5

Choose two students (from amongst the non-negotiating groups), to play the roles of Alvaro de Soto, the U.N. mediator of the negotiations, and Perez de Cuellar, the head of the U.N. Their roles are to keep the negotiations going, to suggest points of agreement when the negotiations get stuck and to try to keep the two sides talking to each other. Tell these two U.N. officials to document any agreement which may come out of the session by writing them down on the board or butcher paper.

Arrange the seating so that the Salvadoran government group is facing the FMLN group, with their respective banners in front of them. Have the other groups align themselves on the sides they have chosen to support, and observe the negotiations closely. Tell the class that in the real negotiations, which took place in New York and in Mexico City, the Salvadoran government representatives and the FMLN never faced each other, and in fact, never saw each other. All the negotiation was done through U.N. intermediaries and specific agreements were kept secret until the negotiations were finalized! In the interest of time, this mock negotiation session will allow direct, face-to-face negotiations.

Begin the negotiation session. Tell the two sides that it is in the interest of both of them to come to some agreement to end the twelve years of warfare which has cost 75,000 lives and destroyed so much of the country. Set a time limit for the negotiations. Have each group choose two representatives who will do most of the talking to the opposition, presenting the agreed upon negotiable points. Representatives should be told to get approval from their groups before agreeing to any other points.

Allow the negotiations to go as long as they are productive. After the negotiation session, have Alvaro de Soto read the points of agreement to the observers as a review of what was negoti-

ated. If peace has been agreed upon, declare a celebration!

Step 6. SALVADORAN PEACE ACCORDS.

Read the results of the actual Salvadoran Peace Accords. (**Appendix 5C**)

Compare the results of their role play negotiation session with the results of the actual negotiations. Discuss with the class what they think the challenges might be in putting the real Peace Accords into practice. Compare the issues they have raised with the actual roadblocks encountered during the process of implementing the Peace Accords. (**Appendix 5D**)

EXTENSION.

Have students research the current situation in El Salvador. If they are unable to find current information, contact the Resource Center of The Americas, 317- 17th Avenue S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414 (612) 627-9445.

APPENDIX

Appendix 5A

Background Sheet

(Adapted from publications of the El Salvador Public Information Campaign, P.O. Box 9326, Washington, D.C. 20005 and reprinted with their permission.)

El Salvador is the smallest country in Central America--8,260 square miles--about the size of Massachusetts. It is about 160 miles long and 60 miles wide. Its capital is San Salvador.

When Pedro de Alvarado invaded from Mexico in 1524 and claimed El Salvador for the Spanish crown, the country was populated with close to 130,000 Indians of Mayan descent: Pipil, Polumam and Lenca peoples. This population declined 80% during the first century of Spanish rule. Today El Salvador has around five million people. In the past twelve years, civil war and

LESSON 5

the 1986 earthquake have displaced more than 10% of the population within the country and forced a million Salvadorans to take refuge in other countries.

When the Spanish arrived, they found the people growing diverse crops of beans, pumpkins, chilies, avocados, corn, guavas, papayas, tomatoes, cocoa, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and elderberries. Today, three big plantation crops—coffee, sugarcane and cotton—dominate agriculture. Over 40% of the rural population is landless; 70% live in extreme poverty.

In 1821, Central America declared its independence from Spain. Large plantation owners formed the nucleus of El Salvador's new oligarchy. El Salvador's oligarchy moved rapidly in 1881 to privatize all communally held Indian lands and deepened the polarization between wealth and poverty. Peasant revolts broke out and to ensure control, the oligarchy began to build up an armed military in 1912, the government created a special security force, the National Guard, to enforce the landlords' law.

A Brief Chronology

1932 La Matanza—A nationwide uprising led by Augustin Farabundo Marti. Peasants and farmworkers march on cities, but coordination breaks down and 4,000 are killed. The army unleashes a campaign of wholesale slaughter known as "La Matanza" (the massacre) in which 30,000 people die (4% of the population).

1960's--Opposition parties are allowed to organize for the first time since 1934 and union and peasant organizing also begins to take root.

1968--the Latin American Bishops Conference in Medellin, Colombia, sanctions liberation theology, a theology that believes that God wants justice and dignity for all people, including the poor. It professes a "preferential option for the poor," that is, that the needs of the poor should be the highest priority of the church.

Small groups discuss the Gospel and what it means for their lives as poor people. These "base Christian communities" become widespread throughout El Salvador.

1975-1980--Hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, students, teachers and church activists form mass popular organizations to pressure for change through demonstrations, labor strikes and civil disobedience. As opposition mounts, repression increases, military death squads begin to kill and kidnap, imprison and torture large numbers of people.

March 24, 1980--Archbishop Romero is assassinated while saying mass. He had recently called upon the armed forces to stop the killing.

Nov. 1980--The Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) is formed, made up of five armed rebel factions.

1981--Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson founds the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party from a conglomerate of conservative groups.

March 1984--Jose Napoleon Duarte, with strong backing from the U.S., defeats Roberto D'Aubuisson for the presidency. U.S. Congress approves massive amounts of aid.

1987--The Central American presidents sign Esquipulas II peace accords.

March 1989-- ARENA candidate Alfredo Cristiani wins the presidency amidst charges of fraud and intimidation and the lowest voter turnout ever recorded.

By the end of the 1980's, approximately 25% of Salvadoran territory, containing about 300,000 people, is under the control of the FMLN--mostly in the north and east of San Salvador. These areas are governed through democratic committees and establish schools, medical clinics, and agricultural cooperatives.

LESSON 5

Nov. 1989--Six Jesuit priests and two women are assassinated at the University of Central America by the Salvadoran military, resulting in international attention.

April 1990--A series of negotiations between the FMLN and the Salvadoran government is scheduled, to be moderated by the United Nations. The negotiation session which ended in April '91 brought agreement to change the Constitution to place the military under the civilian government's control.

Over 75,000 people, including at least 46,000 civilians, have died during this twelve year civil war. Human rights abuses, disappearances, tortures, detentions, and death squad murders continue. According to international human rights organizations, the majority of these abuses are committed by the Salvadoran military. (The Non-Governmental Human Rights Commission of El Salvador reports that in 1990, of 1,323 recorded assassinations, 1,005 were committed by the Salvadoran military, 27 by the FMLN and the rest by unknown elements.) The U.S. has sent approximately \$4.5 billion in economic and military aid to the Salvadoran government in the past decade.

December 31, 1991 -- The FMLN and the Salvadoran government sign a Peace Accord which puts an end to the twelve year civil war.

Appendix 5B GROUP QUESTIONS, POSITION STATEMENTS AND TALKING POINTS

Salvadoran Church Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What are the church perspectives on the situation in El Salvador?
2. What are the religious communities doing in

response to the situation in El Salvador?

3. What concerns do people of faith have for the nation?

The Salvadoran Church Position Statements

The following quotations are taken from a variety of individuals who are church leaders in El Salvador:

"For the last twenty years we have been engaged in a liberation struggle in El Salvador. This struggle grew out of our awareness of the need to transform unjust structures in our society. In this transformation, a new model of church is being born. We call unjust structures sinful because they go against the will of God; It's against these structures that we must struggle. Not only a new model of society, but a new model of being Christian and of being a Church is at stake." Father Miguel Ventura, a Salvadoran priest, from El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

"They call us subversives, but the truth is that the Lutheran Church in El Salvador is effectively giving its option for the poor. The church is well known for supporting the dialogue between the government and the FMLN guerrillas. For example, we participate in the National Debate for Peace, and we have publicly stated our position. The Lutheran church has become an active Christian protagonist in the midst of the tragedy of El Salvador."--from El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

"Insist on a cease fire, dialogue and negotiation. Say no to military aid. Through prayers, vigils and concrete actions in the search for peace, we will achieve better conditions for life." Lutheran Bishop Medardo Gomez, Dec. 12, 1989.

"We are a hard-working people, and our children deserve a better today and much better tomorrow."

LESSON 5

row. Yet our rivers, our lakes, and our mountains are stained with blood. We are a people who want liberty, who want an authentic democracy. We are against the forces of death, and we want a truly prosperous country that we construct with the work of all. For all these reasons, my brothers and sisters, in the name of the Salvadoran people, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I urge you to continue your struggle together until we have peace with social justice in El Salvador... We want negotiation, and we want peace." Edgar Palacios, pastor, Shalom Baptist Church in San Salvador and the coordinator on the Permanent Commission of the National Debate for Peace in El Salvador.

"Beginning in 1969, the movement of Christian base communities took root in the poor communities of El Salvador. Small groups gather, often in homes, to study the Bible and celebrate the sacraments as communities of faith. Their discussions lead to new interpretations of the Gospel based on their daily experiences." From El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

"We believe that the poor, the illiterate and the sick, the persecuted and tortured, are closest to the Gospel of Jesus. Through them, Christ challenges us to work for justice and peace. Their cause is our cause. We believe that Christ is also present in those who are slaves to their passions, to vices, lies and injustice, to power and money. We commit ourselves to never give up hope in the possibility of their conversion; to love them even though they slander, persecute and kill us; to pray for them and to help them so that one day they may live simply and humbly in the way that the Gospel calls all of us to live." From Profession of Faith of the Christian Base Communities.

The Salvadoran Church Talking Points
(These are viewpoints from the Catholic Church and several Protestant Churches.)

*God loves all people and wants all people to lead a dignified life. God does not wish for people to go hungry or to suffer.

*With "liberation theology" we are called to take the side of the poor.

*The economic situation in El Salvador is unjust. There are a few people who own most of the land and the wealth and they are very, very rich. But the majority of the people are very, very poor. The church has a responsibility to help the poor.

*We help the poor try to find their "disappeared" relatives. We have an office which keeps track of human rights abuses and we try to intervene on behalf of the poor.

*Because church workers have worked with the poor, they have been killed by death squads related to the military. On March 24, 1980, Archbishop Romero was killed shortly after his sermon calling upon the military to stop the killing. In December 1980 four U.S. church women who were working with the poor were raped and murdered. In Nov. of '89, six Jesuit priests and their cook and her daughter were murdered by the military. These are just a few. There are many many other church workers who have been killed. There have been over 75,000 people killed in the past 12 years of this civil war. At least 45,000 of those people were civilians. Some of them were killed by the FMLN, but most were killed by the military.

*We do not condone violence. We recognize that dialogue and negotiation are the way to resolve conflict. We have been involved in efforts to foster dialogue between the many different groups in this country.

LESSON 5

U.S. Government Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What is the official position of the U.S. Government?
2. How does this position benefit the United States? How does this position benefit the Salvadoran People?

U. S. Government Position Statements

(Reprinted from Harriet Culley, Ed. "El Salvador: U.S. Policy," Gist, Washington D.C., Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, May, 1989. Phone (202) 647-1208.)

A Marxist-led insurgency... threatens the democratic consolidation in El Salvador. Under pressure from the better-trained and more professional Salvadoran Armed Forces, the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) have resorted increasingly to urban terrorism and attacks on the vulnerable economic infrastructure of the country; meanwhile, popular support for the guerrillas continued to wane.

Central American Peace Agreement: El Salvador is a party to the several accords that the Central American countries have signed. Among them is the August 1987 Central American Peace Agreement that (1) called upon regional and outside governments to cease aiding insurgent movements in the region and to prevent their territory's use by insurgent forces; (2) required the participating governments to institute reforms promoting democracy; (3) offered amnesty to political prisoners; and (4) provided for negotiations on a cease-fire and process of national reconciliation in the signatory countries undergoing civil conflict.

U.S. Goals: U.S. policy goals for Central America are based on the recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, known as the "Kissinger Commission," which concluded in 1984 that economic and political instability, exacerbated by external subversion, was acute. With overwhelming

bipartisan support, Congress has since passed legislation designed to implement the Commission's recommendations. These included advancing the cause of democracy, improving economic conditions, promoting peaceful change, strengthening hemispheric cooperation, preventing hostile, antidemocratic forces from gaining a strategic foothold, and preventing the Soviet Union from increasing its influence in the region. The U.S. Congress and the Administration emphasized the shared goals of achieving democracy and ending subversion on the isthmus when they issued a bipartisan statement for Central America on March 24.

Political Development: U.S. policy has promoted the consolidation of the democratic political process in El Salvador. With U.S. encouragement and technical assistance, El Salvador has held six elections since 1982, all of which were closely scrutinized by hundreds of observers from around the world, including the press. These elections were uniformly judged to have been fair and honest.

Social Development: A key component of U.S. policy and programs has been the improvement of human rights observance. Under President Duarte's government, strengthened democratic institutions, civilian leadership, professional training, and human rights instruction helped curb abuses by the armed and public security forces. Vice President Quayle, during a visit to El Salvador, reiterated the importance the Administration places on continued improvement in the human rights area. A second important area of U.S. concern is judicial reform, with the goal of a well-trained, independent judiciary free of intimidation, political influence, and corruption. Other U.S. programs help the Salvadoran government meet the population's housing, education, and health needs.

Economic Development: U.S. policy promotes economic recovery by helping the government

LESSON 5

restore growth and achieve financial stability. We promote economic development by engaging the private sector in ways to stimulate investment and by encouraging economic policy adjustments and export diversification. For the last three years, the Salvadoran economy has registered modest growth.

Military Assistance: U.S. military assistance, totaling about 20% of U.S. aid to El Salvador, is designed to help the armed forces counter the guerrillas' threat to the democratically elected government so that political, social, and economic development can continue. Military assistance seeks to promote Salvadoran self-sufficiency and respect for human rights.

U.S. Government Talking Points

*We need to protect U.S. interests in El Salvador. It is in our interest to have a stable government, therefore we need to support the current government.

*We want to foster democracy in El Salvador. We feel that change will come slowly but surely in El Salvador. We hope to influence this in a positive way.

*The FMLN are communists. They have used violence. They have fought against the democratically elected Salvadoran government, and we, the U.S., support that government. Therefore, the U.S. should continue to give military aid to El Salvador and should continue to train Salvadoran soldiers both in El Salvador and at U.S. Army bases here in the U.S.

*We are, of course, concerned about human rights, so we would like to see El Salvador improve its human rights record and be able to better control its military.

*Our military aid to El Salvador is only a part of all the aid we give. A large amount of our aid to El Salvador goes to help build up the infrastructure of El Salvador.

The Salvadoran Government Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What is your view on events in El Salvador?
2. What are you doing to help the Salvadoran people?
3. What are you doing with U.S. aid money?
4. How do you explain the large number of civilian casualties?

The Salvadoran Government Position Statement

(see article by Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani in the attachments section) **Appendix 5E.**

The Salvadoran Government Talking Points

*There is democracy in El Salvador. This government is a democratically elected government.

*We are making changes. Things are improving. We are working hard to improve our human rights record.

*The United States should continue sending us military and economic aid because El Salvador is improving.

*The FMLN are terrorists. They planted mines which explode when children accidentally step on them.

*We are in the process of bringing to justice the murderers of the six Jesuit priests and two women who were killed in November 1989.

*The main problem with our military was that it had a few "bad apples" in it. We are working to find those individuals and weed them out of the army. Once we have accomplished this, you will not hear of any human rights abuses at the hands of the Salvadoran military.

*When it comes to redistribution of land, why, if we redistributed land, the peasants would not

LESSON 5

know how to manage it. It is in the best interest of the country to allow the current landowners, who know how to manage the land, continue to do so.

The FMLN Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What is your group seeking? What kind of changes do you want?
2. Who does your group represent?
3. How do you explain the large number of civilian casualties?

The FMLN Position Statement

Democratic revolution is needed in El Salvador to put an end to domination by the military and the wealthy and to establish peace. Our struggle is rooted in Salvadoran reality. This movement for change involves a broad spectrum of the population; the FMLN is one part of this movement. The FMLN took up arms to accomplish four things: the end of militarism, a new social and economic order, the democratization of the nation and the restoration of sovereignty and an independent foreign policy.

The End of Militarism. In the past, the Army has served to protect the interests of the wealthy and the United States government. The army has cruelly repressed the Salvadoran people. We proposed to abolish the Army and establish a new professional "public security force" trained in human rights, and to put on trial those responsible for crimes, massacres, disappearances and torture, bringing an end to political persecution.

A New Economic and Social Order. As long as the wealth of El Salvador is concentrated in the hands of a few, there will be no true democracy and no equal opportunity for all. We proposed land reform, to put most farm land into the hands of small and medium scale farmers; expansion of a popular economic sector, including cooperatives, collective and private ownership in all areas of production; urban reform to

establish a just system of property ownership in cities and access to financing and public services; access to food, health care, literacy, education, housing, culture and recreation; a consensus building process around salaries, prices, employment and credit; laws and citizen's organizations to protect our environment; and laws establishing equal rights for women.

National Democratization. We proposed that the legislative branch be expanded and steps be taken to democratize and pluralize the municipal councils. An independent and impartial judicial branch will be established which respects the legal rights of all. Legislation will be adopted to insure protection of human rights and freedom of expression, including freedom of speech, press, assembly and petition.

According to FMLN negotiator Salvador Samayoa, the FMLN seeks "a gradual, symmetrical and simultaneous process to dismantle and eliminate both the FMLN and Salvadoran government armies and create a new civilian police force such as Costa Rica has." The FMLN believes that this process of total demilitarization should begin with submitting the Armed Forces to civilian authority, cleansing the officer corps, abolishing instruments of state-sponsored repression, ending forced recruitment and bringing human rights violators to justice.

The FMLN Talking Points

*We recognize that the economic system in El Salvador is unjust. Very few people own and control the land and the wealth of El Salvador. Those few people are very, very rich. The landowners produce coffee, cotton, beef and other crops for export. Meanwhile, the rest of the people in El Salvador are extremely poor. People are dying of malnutrition. Things have to change!

*Landowners and business owners pay very low wages to factory workers and campesinos.

LESSON 5

(Coffee pickers get \$2/day!) When people organized themselves to demand just wages, the government sent in the death squads to murder their leaders.

*We feel that people have the right to a decent life. We want food, medicine, education, decent housing and jobs that pay a living wage.

*There has been no democracy in El Salvador. Elections in El Salvador have been shown to be riddled with fraud. In the 1989 Presidential elections, less than 20% of all eligible voters voted for Cristiani. All sorts of things went on during the elections--ballot stuffing, miscounts, intimidation of voters, etc. The same thing happened in march of 1991 with the elections for the legislature and mayors of districts. In a number of departments, ballots which had been marked for the opposition parties were found thrown in garbage dumps, some of the ballots did not even have the opposition parties printed on them. Thousands of registered voters never received voting cards and there were reports of polling places closing before everyone in line had a chance to vote.

*The Salvadoran military violated human rights all the time. They "disappeared" labor union leaders, church workers, teachers, almost anyone working for change. They tortured and killed people.

*The U.S. and Salvadoran governments have accused us of being Communists. But the vast majority of our leaders and members are not Communist. All we want is justice; jobs, a just wage, a chance to go to school, and opportunity to have decent housing and clean water and health care, and the ability to either grow food or make enough money to buy the food we need to feed our children.

*We did not like to use violence. We did not like to have to be at war, but it was our last

resort. If the system would not change by itself, we would have to make it change. The people of El Salvador have been suffering for centuries because of this unequal distribution of land and unfair wages. We have tried to change these inequalities by non-violent means, but those efforts had no effect. We realize that after 12 years of civil war, it was clear that neither side, the military or our side, has the ability to win. We felt it was time to demilitarize our country, to stop this war and sit down to negotiate a peaceful and just settlement to these problems and to share the work of governing our country.

Salvadoran Peasants & Workers Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What changes do the poor peasants and workers see as necessary?
2. How do peasants and workers feel about their government and military, the FMLN, the churches and the U.S. Government?

Salvadoran Peasants & Workers Position Statement

The following are quotes from peasants and representatives of community organizations:

"I worked the hacienda over there, and I would have to feed the dogs bowls of meat or bowls of milk every morning, and I could never put those on the table for my own children. When my children were ill, they died with a nod of sympathy from the landlord. But when those dogs were ill, I took them to the veterinarian...You will never understand violence or nonviolence until you understand the violence to the spirit that happens from watching your children die of malnutrition." A peasant in El Salvador as quoted from the film Witness to War: An American Doctor in El Salvador.

"Our houses are shacks built with discarded tin, cardboard, plastic or other junk. Some of us live

LESSON 5

in one small room made of mud and sticks. We have to wrap our children in plastic so that they will not get wet. Our shacks are next to rivers filled with sewage. We live with the fear that the rains will carry our homes and children away. Some of us live along the railroad tracks. We are always afraid that a train will run over and kill our children. We almost never have steady work. When we find work we are paid extremely low wages. We do whatever work we can find. We sell fruit, vegetables, newspapers or bottles. Our children are often left without care during the day. Nutrition is always poor because our low wages do not permit us to buy enough food. The rising cost of basic foods has made this situation even worse. Many of our families survive by picking through the garbage for food. Others have resigned themselves to waking up and going to bed hungry. We marginalized women share many of the same problems, and if we organize, we can overcome them." The testimony of several women in El Salvador, quoted from El Salvador: a Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

Salvadoran Peasants & Workers Talking Points

- *We are poor. 65% of us are unemployed or under-employed.
- *We want jobs with just wages. We cannot survive on jobs which pay only \$2 per day. We want education.
- *We are tired of seeing our children die of malnutrition.
- *Many of us were scared. There was fighting between the FMLN and the army, but often, even though we did not take sides, we were the victims. The army indiscriminately bombed our villages. The death squads killed or "disappeared" our loved ones and our neighbors. The military kidnapped our youth and forced them into the army. Thousands of our community leaders had been targeted by the death squads--teachers, labor union leaders, church workers, health care workers...this has meant a great loss

to the development of our country.

*The war has also ruined bridges, roads and water supplies.

*We want land so that we can grow food to feed our children.

*Some of us have had to flee the country to escape from the military and the war. We became refugees and went to other countries. There were entire village communities which fled.

*We are hard working people. We want our children to have better lives.

Appendix 5C SELF-HELP/VOLUNTEER PROJECTS

1. These are some of the actions people in El Salvador are taking to change the unjust situation in their country:

Segundo Montes City

This community is made up of refugees who have returned to El Salvador after having lived in a refugee camp in Honduras for nine years. They fled El Salvador in the early eighties because of the fighting. They tired of being refugees, and decided, as a community, that they wanted to return to their homeland, regardless of the continuing war. They returned to El Salvador after extended negotiations with the Salvadoran government. During their nine years as refugees, they made very productive use of their time. With the help of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, they trained teachers and health care workers, started classes and small industries, and developed a model of cooperative economic and social organization. One of their many outstanding accomplishments is that they increased their literacy rate from 15% in 1980 to over 85% in 1990.

The community is named after Father Segundo Montes, a Jesuit priest who was outspoken on human rights for Salvadorans. He was murdered

by the military in Nov. 1989. The community is based on cooperation. They farm the land cooperatively, rather than individually, and share resources. They continue to teach each other and work together as a community, rather than individually, to resolve problems and needs. This new community is looked upon as a model for other poor communities throughout Latin America.

CoMadres

(U.S. Office) P.O. Box 21299, Washington, D.C. 20009-0799. CoMadres is an organization of relatives of "disappeared" people in El Salvador. They work to gain international publicity about these disappearances in order to force the Salvadoran military to release these people and to treat political prisoners humanely. CoMadres won the Robert F. Kennedy International Human Rights Award.

2. These are some of the actions people in the U.S. are taking in response to the situation in El Salvador:

Sending Humanitarian Aid to El Salvador

There are many groups throughout the U.S. who are helping people in El Salvador by sending them donations of medical supplies, clothing and school supplies. Among them are:

Pastors for Peace, 331 17th Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414, (612) 644-8118. Pastors for Peace organizes caravans carrying humanitarian aid from throughout the U.S. to El Salvador and other Central American countries.

Quest for Peace, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782, (301) 699-0042. Quest for Peace sends shipments of school supplies and other humanitarian aid to Central America.

Letter Writing and Lobbying

Citizens from throughout the U.S. write letters letting their members of Congress know how they feel about U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

Human Rights Response Networks

Citizens throughout the U.S. send telegrams, write letters and make long distance phone calls to El Salvador on behalf of people who have been taken by military or military-related "death squads" or have been imprisoned unjustly. Groups which organize these Human Rights Alerts are: El Rescate, 2675 West Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006, and Amnesty International, 322 Eighth Ave., New York, NY 10001, (212) 807-8400.

LESSON 6

EL SALVADOR: DECISIONS AT YOUR DOOR

(This lesson is designed for grades 9-12)

Lesson Goals:

- Students will consider arguments pro and con for offering sanctuary to refugees.
- Students will compose a letter summarizing their position on Lila's situation.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

"Lila" story
"The Politics of Asylum"
U.S. Dept. of Justice Letter

MATERIALS TEACHER PROVIDES TO STUDENTS

Copies of "Lila" story
Copies of U.S. Dept. of Justice Letter
Copies of "The Politics of Asylum"

TIME REQUIRED

2 to 3 class periods.

ANTICIPATORY SET/ INTRODUCTION

Begin this lesson by asking students if they can think of examples of someone intentionally breaking the law or a rule because it seemed unfair (examples might be – the civil rights protests of the 50's and 60's, recent demonstrations in China or the South Africa resistance). Discuss what the consequences of breaking these rules or laws were.

INSTRUCTIONAL SEQUENCE

Step 1. MAKING DECISIONS

1. Inform students that they are to imagine that they were on a committee of a congregation which was faced with the decision of whether to offer sanctuary to an illegal Salvadoran refugee.
2. Distribute and read the **Lila** story. (**Appendix 6A**) Remind students that Lila entered the U.S. illegally in 1983 and was denied asylum as a political refugee. Through the 1980's churches and other groups were confronted with decisions to provide sanctuary to Central American refugees who were fleeing violence and repressive governments. Until recently, 97% of these refugees were denied political asylum in the U.S.
3. Distribute and read the **U.S. Dept. of Justice Letter**. (**Appendix 6B**)
4. Tell students to imagine their committee has met and made a decision on whether or not to provide sanctuary to Lila. Tell the students, "Your committee wanted to be entirely open about its decision and had instructed you to write a detailed letter to Mr. Keating explaining exactly what you planned to do about Lila and why. If you decided to grant her sanctuary, explain to Mr. Keating the risks you were aware you were taking."
5. Allow the students to finish the letters as homework.

LESSON 6

Step 2. ANALYZING CONSEQUENCES

1. Ask students to volunteer reading their letters to the class. Try to have letters read which state both decisions - some letters stating decisions in favor of providing sanctuary and some against. Discuss the letters with the following questions in mind:

- What do you think was the intent of Frank Keating's letter to College Hill Church?
- How much was your decision based on a fear of the consequences and how much was it based on what you felt was right?
- What alternatives did someone like Lila have?
- If you decided not to offer Lila sanctuary what do you think would have happened to her?
- If you decided to offer sanctuary, what action do you think the U.S. government would have taken against your church? Against you personally?
- Is it ever right to violate federal law? Can you make any generalizations about when it should be justified?

Step 3. CRITIQUING U.S. POLICIES

Have students read **The Politics of Asylum (Appendix 6C)**. Ask the students if they think Lila should have been granted asylum. Ask them to discuss why they think so few Salvadorans were granted asylum here in the U.S. (This lesson is taken from **Lila** by William Bigelow and Linda Christensen. See Acknowledgements page).

CLOSURE

Tell students that a new 1991 court ruling changed some aspects of asylum. The ruling allowed Salvadorans who could prove they had been in the U.S. continuously since September 19, 1990 to apply for Temporary Protected Status (TPS). This ruling allowed them to obtain work permits and a Social Security number. They would then be allowed to stay in the U.S.

through June 1992 and to apply for an extension of their work permits beyond that date through a new program called the ABC settlement. This could mean legal status in this country for between 3 and 6 years, while their asylum cases were being heard.

Ask the students what they think might have brought about this new law. After students have offered possible answers, tell them that TPS was the result of 10 years of advocacy by both Salvadorans in the U.S. and their North American supporters who worked to educate Congress about the war and human rights abuses in El Salvador. The ABC (American Baptist Church) settlement was the result of a lawsuit against the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) filed by religious and refugee advocacy groups which accused INS of discriminating against Salvadorans by denying almost all of their asylum cases.

EXTENSION IDEAS

Appendix 6D

- Invite a refugee from any country who came to the U.S. seeking political asylum to speak to the class about his/her experience.
- Invite a representative of a congregation that has made a decision either in favor of or against providing sanctuary, or a representative of the INS to speak to the class.
- Set up a debate between a representative of the INS and a representative of a congregation which has offered sanctuary.

WHAT'S A GOOD CITIZEN TO DO?

Lesson Goals:

- Students will identify basic rights and responsibilities of U.S. citizens.
- Students will compose a letter summarizing their opinions on events in El Salvador.
- Students will demonstrate their knowledge of El Salvador by completing the Post-test.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

- Post-test, Key
- *Margaret Mead quote
- *Amnesty International quote
- *Can be used to make transparencies

MATERIALS TEACHER PROVIDES TO STUDENTS

Copies of Post-test

TIME REQUIRED

2-3 Class Periods

ANTICIPATORY SET/INTRODUCTION

Begin this lesson by asking students to do some list making.

1. What are the rights a citizen of this nation holds? (You may wish to review the Bill of Rights).
2. What are the responsibilities of being a good citizen?
3. What should citizens do when they support the policies of their local, state and national leaders?
4. What should citizens do when they do not support the policies of their local, state and national leaders?
5. Can you think of any local, state or national policies which you think need to be changed?

INSTRUCTIONAL SEQUENCE

Step 1. DISCUSSING CHANGE

Show the following quote by Margaret Mead, the famous anthropologist, on a transparency: (Appendix 7A)

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."

Ask students whether they know of instances where the quote has rung true.

Step 2. LETTER WRITING

Tell the students that they will be sending a letter stating their perspectives on U.S. policies toward refugees or on U.S. policies toward El Salvador. Encourage students to incorporate ideas on what policies they would like to see implemented toward El Salvador and why, or how, they would like to see the U.S. relate to refugees from El Salvador or other countries. Have them seek out other students who share their perspectives and form small groups to work on a single letter. The letters can be written to members of Congress or to the editor of a local paper or to a publication which the students might suggest, such as the school paper. After they have completed their letters, arrange the students in a

LESSON 7

circle and have a "read around." Have any students who feel comfortable read their letter. After everyone who wants to has read their group's letter, briefly discuss the similarities and differences among the letters. Does there seem to be consensus or disagreement concerning U.S. policy?

Collect and send the letters. (Senator _____, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., 20510, and Representative _____, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 20515).

Remind students that the replies to their letter may take several weeks. Discuss the replies in future classes.

Step 3. CAN A SMALL GROUP MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

Show the transparency of the Amnesty International quotation (**Appendix 7B**), to emphasize the importance of individual action. Read the brief descriptions which demonstrate situations where a person or group has helped make major changes in the status quo. (**Appendix 7C**)

Step 4. POST-TEST

Pass out copies of the **Post-Test** (**Appendix 7D**) for students to complete individually.

CLOSURE

Tell the students that aides to Congressional Representatives have stated that they consider each letter they receive to represent the viewpoints of 100 people! Ask students why this might be so.

EXTENSION IDEAS

(See **Appendix 7E** for extension ideas for this lesson)

APPENDIX

Appendix 7B

Amnesty International

"When the first two hundred letters came, the guards gave me back my clothes. When the next two hundred letters came, the prison director came to see me. When the next pile of letters arrived, the director got in touch with his superior. The letters kept coming: three thousand of them. The President was informed. The letters still kept arriving, and the President called the prison and told them to let me go."

—A released prisoner of conscience from the Dominican Republic.

Appendix 7C

Amnesty International is an organization that works for the release of prisoners of conscience throughout the world. The above quotation is from just one of the hundreds of prisoners of conscience who have been "adopted" by Amnesty International groups who send letters to foreign governments requesting the release of those imprisoned unjustly. High school students throughout the U.S. have formed Amnesty International groups in their own schools. This is very important work and contributes to the release of those who are imprisoned, and often tortured, simply for the beliefs they hold.

(To obtain information on beginning your own Amnesty International high school group, contact: Amnesty International/National Student Program, 1118 22nd St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 200037, phone (202) 775-5161).

Educational Rights for the Handicapped

Students with handicaps, disabilities and physical challenges have not always had the right to attend school in America. For many years, these

LESSON 7

students were denied admission to the public schools or were forced to attend special state sponsored residential schools. That situation began to change as a growing number of students, parents, educators, and concerned citizens lobbied Congress to fight for equal rights for these students. In 1973, the Rehabilitation Act was passed. This act said no program receiving federal money could discriminate against people solely because of a handicap. Due to continued pressure from the public, Public Law 93-380 was passed in 1974. This law provided federal money to start special education classes and also established due process rights for handicapped students and their parents. As problems continued, it was necessary in 1975 to pass Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. This law made it a national policy that a free, appropriate public education must be extended to handicapped persons as their fundamental right.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, an African-American woman, sat down in a bus in Montgomery, Alabama and decided not to give up her seat to a white person, as the law at that time said she must. She was arrested. In disobeying this unjust law, Rosa Parks set off a major movement for civil rights of African-Americans throughout the South. Because of her action, African-Americans began a boycott of buses in Montgomery, Alabama. The boycott was aimed at ending the unjust rule that African-Americans had to sit at the back of the bus and also had to give up their seats if they were needed by a white person. The boycott lasted for over a year, and finally, on December 21, 1956, the Montgomery buses became integrated. This was the start of the Civil Rights Movement, which succeeded in passing the Civil Rights Act in 1964 which made it illegal to have segregated public accommodations, and the Voting Rights Act in 1965, which won African-Americans the right to vote.

Women's Suffrage Movement

American suffragists struggled for the right to vote throughout the 19th century and into the 20th. Leaders of the movement such as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul worked to secure voting rights for women on the state and federal levels. Women of all walks of life used a variety of techniques, including lobbying, mass marches and hunger strikes. Their perseverance paid off when the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1920.

Appendix 7D

Post Test Key

Write true before each statement that is true and false before each statement that is false.

- True 1. El Salvador is part of both Central America and North America.
- True 2. El Salvador is one of the smallest countries in Latin America.
- False 3. The capital city of El Salvador is Managua.
- True 4. El Salvador has resources that the U.S.-based corporations are interested in obtaining.
- False 5. People in El Salvador can expect to live longer than people in the U.S.
- False 6. El Salvador has a very high literacy rate.
- False 7. El Salvador has a very low infant mortality rate.
- False 8. The Roman Catholic Church has very little influence on the lives of the Salvadoran people.

LESSON 7

- True 9. There is a conflict between various political forces in El Salvador.
- True 10. Many Salvadorans have left El Salvador and fled to the U.S.
- True 11. The U.S. government has sent hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid to the government of El Salvador.
- False 12. Everyone in the United States agrees that the U.S. government should aid the government of El Salvador.
- True 13. The government of El Salvador has been accused of violating the **human rights** of its citizens.
- True 14. The U.S. Government has supported the Peace Accords between the government of El Salvador and the opposition forces.

Appendix 7E

Extension Ideas

- Research the position of Congressional Representatives on U.S. policy toward El Salvador.
- Research the history of U.S. policy toward El Salvador.
- Create a bulletin board showcase or publication using copies of the students' letters, maps or anything else students have produced related to this unit. Students can create their own artwork or graphics to accompany the display.
- Research a controversial issue and explain how the groups in conflict organized around that issue. Special attention should be directed to analyzing how interest groups organized and how they made their opinions known to others. Students should analyze and evaluate the citizenship skills that were demonstrated by the interest groups involved.

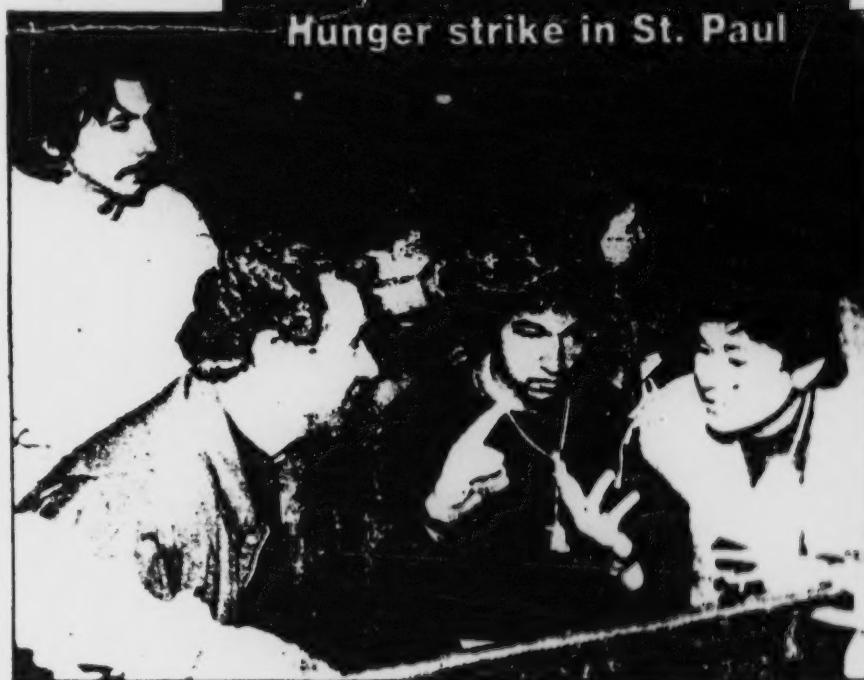
Potential issues might include local current events or such issues as:

- gun control
- legalized gambling
- flag burning
- censorship of music lyrics
- ban on plastic
- revoking driver's licenses of dropouts
- Choose a current social problem. Think about how an individual or group might organize to resolve that problem. Share the possible solutions with the class.
- Research the activities of local Central America groups. How are they using their constitutional rights (such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, etc.?)
- Look for an individual who made a difference in solving a problem in your community. Research the person's actions, and report back to class.

Pretest

Write true before each statement that is true and false before each statement that is false.

- _____ 1. El Salvador is part of both Central America and North America.
- _____ 2. El Salvador is one of the smallest countries in Latin America.
- _____ 3. The capital city of El Salvador is Managua.
- _____ 4. El Salvador has resources that U.S. corporations are interested in obtaining.
- _____ 5. People in El Salvador can expect to live longer than people in the U.S.
- _____ 6. El Salvador has a very high LITERACY RATE.
- _____ 7. El Salvador has a very low INFANT MORTALITY RATE.
- _____ 8. The Roman Catholic Church has very little influence on the lives of the Salvadoran people.
- _____ 9. There has been a conflict between various political forces in El Salvador.
- _____ 10. Many Salvadorans have left El Salvador and fled to the U.S.
- _____ 11. The U.S. government has sent hundreds of dollars in MILITARY AID to the government of El Salvador.
- _____ 12. Everyone in the United States agrees that the U.S. government should aid the government of El Salvador.
- _____ 13. The government of El Salvador has been accused of violating the HUMAN RIGHTS of its citizens.
- _____ 14. The U.S. Government has supported the Peace Accords between the government of El Salvador and the opposition forces.



Photos by J. Michael Fitzgerald

Huddling in the front pew of the Cathedral of St. Paul, six Salvadorans, a Bolivian and American Maryknoll priest Father Roy Bourgeois say they will take only water until the United States halts sending military aid to the government of El Salvador.

Why they come to the cathedral

By Pat Norby
Catholic Bulletin Staff

Eight men are fighting a quiet battle for the people of El Salvador in the dim light of the Cathedral of St. Paul.

Through prayer and fasting, six Salvadorans and a Bolivian, with a Maryknoll priest as their spiritual director, are fighting to end military aid to the war-torn country. The eight settled into the Cathedral Thanksgiving Day just as Salvadorans might have done in El Salvador if their cathedral were open.

They say they are not there simply as protesters waiting for their demands to be met, but as people who want to express

compassion for the victims of oppression in El Salvador.

Other people have drifted into the Cathedral to pray with them or join in the fast.

"From the questions that are being asked, it's always what has to happen to have it (the hunger strike in the cathedral) stop, because you're making us uncomfortable," said Valerie Steffenson, a member of St. Luke Presbyterian in Minnetonka and supporter of the group. Several years ago, St. Luke gave sanctuary to one of the members of the group, Rene Hurtado, a former Salvadoran military police officer.

Media distorts mission

In a statement prepared for the media, which the hunger strikers say has distorted their mission, the group said, "In our country, the cathedral is a place where we can go to pray, take refuge, have a hunger strike and express our needs. In our country (See HUNGER STRIKERS, Page 3)

Hunger strikers: Why they come to the Cathedral

(Continued from page 1)

try, the clergy are the voice of the voiceless."

Hurtado said, "We know we can't stop the military aid to El Salvador, but the people of our country can do that."

Another group member — Jesus Hurtado, a political refugee from Bolivia who is not related to Rene — said, "This is not a political group. The moral obligation we have is to stop the crime. We are requesting the people to stop the aid and make possible a political solution."

Soon after the group moved into the Cathedral, the media that Archbishop John R. had not been speaking out to stop aid to El Salvador. Jesus Hurtado said they wanted Archbishop Roach to send a letter to President George Bush and to parishes in the archdiocese condemning military aid to El Salvador.

That afternoon, Archbishop Roach met and prayed with those gathered in the church. He also recounted for the press and the hunger strikers a formidable record of statements against violence and military aid

to El Salvador dating back to 1981, when he was president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

He informed the strikers that he had just sent a letter to President Bush Nov. 22, the day before Thanksgiving, asking him to push for an end to the conflict in El Salvador. He also wrote to President Alfredo Cristiani of El Salvador Nov. 22 and said, "We plead for your strong leadership in bringing perpetrators of violence to justice, and in bringing a new measure of reason and respect for human rights to the situation in your country."

And Archbishop Roach said in a letter to Archbishop Arturo Rivera Y. Damas in El Salvador, "Please know that you and the entire San Salvador Catholic Church are in my prayers. Along with a local Lutheran bishop, I have called on the people of St. Paul and Minneapolis to continue praying for dialogue and justice for your people who have suffered too long."

The archbishop and Lutheran Bishop Lowell Erdahl issued a joint statement decrying the Nov. 16 murders of six Jesuit

priests and two women in El Salvador. Bishop J. Richard Ham, MM, representing the archdiocese, signed a statement Nov. 26 with other Minnesota church leaders urging President Bush and Congress to end all military aid to El Salvador.

Maryknoll Father Roy Bourgeois, spiritual director of the hunger strikers, said Nov. 24 that they hoped Archbishop Roach would draft a statement on aid to El Salvador to be read in Catholic parishes, as was done in many Lutheran congregations Nov. 26.

During a press conference Nov. 27, Archbishop Roach said he was drafting a letter to send to parishes with suggestions for fasting, prayer and actions to help end the fighting in El Salvador. (Additional information on the press conference is reported in a story on Page 1.)

A tired and weakened Rene Hurtado said Nov. 28, "What (Archbishop Roach) did yesterday was a positive step, but he was talking as a politician, not a spiritual leader." Hurtado said stopping substantial military aid is not enough. All aid must stop, he said.

"I don't think we should be here asking to stop military aid. It should be Archbishop Roach," Hurtado said. "He has done what he has to do, but I feel he can do more. That is up to him, but I am pleased. He is a very caring person."

Margaret Hoffman, a member of St. Stephen parish in Minneapolis and a supporter of the group, said, "I feel it's not a political or social issue, but a moral issue."

People in El Salvador go to church to cry out and fast, she said. "Sometimes I feel a need to cry out also. I feel the Catholic church has to respond — to cry out."

Group members said the end of the vigil does not depend on any action of the archbishop or other clerics. They said they are there to raise the consciousness of all people in the community to the problems caused by military aid to El Salvador, Father Bourgeois said.

Staging a hunger strike in the Cathedral is appropriate, he said. "Prayer and fasting has always been a tradition of our faith. God would in no way be offended by this."

"For the Salvadorans, that's part of their lives — their culture."

MAP WORKSHEET

Directions: Using the maps of Latin America and Central America, answer the following questions. If you decide that the answer to a true/false question is "false," rewrite the statement so that it is true.

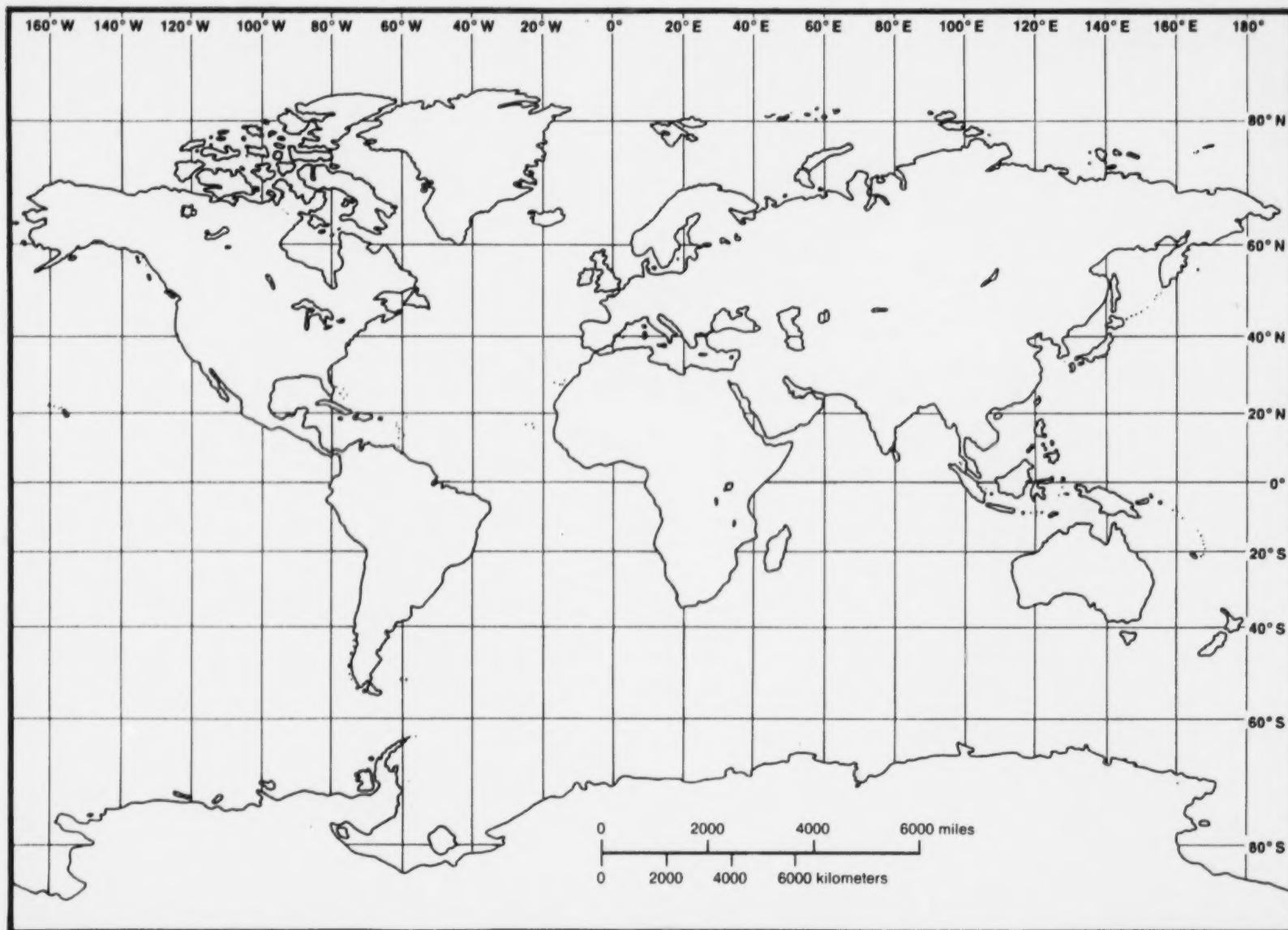
1. Which countries border on El Salvador?
2. True or false: El Salvador is the smallest country in Latin America.
3. True or False: El Salvador is the smallest country in Central America.
4. Which Central American countries border on only one ocean?

What advantages/disadvantages/problems might this cause?

5. What are the main crops of El Salvador?
6. True or False: El Salvador is part of North America and Central America.
7. What is the capital city of El Salvador?
8. How many times would the land area of El Salvador fit into the land area of the 48 contiguous United States?
9. True or False: El Salvador is north of the equator.
10. Which direction would you go if you drove from El Salvador to Costa Rica?

11. How do you think most people in Central America make a living?
12. True or False: To drive directly from El Salvador to Mexico City you must go through Belize.
13. True or False: The canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans is closer to Colombia than it is to El Salvador.
14. True or False: El Salvador is directly south of Miami, Florida.
15. Think of three reasons why the U.S., or other Central American countries, might be interested in what happens in El Salvador.
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.

WORLD



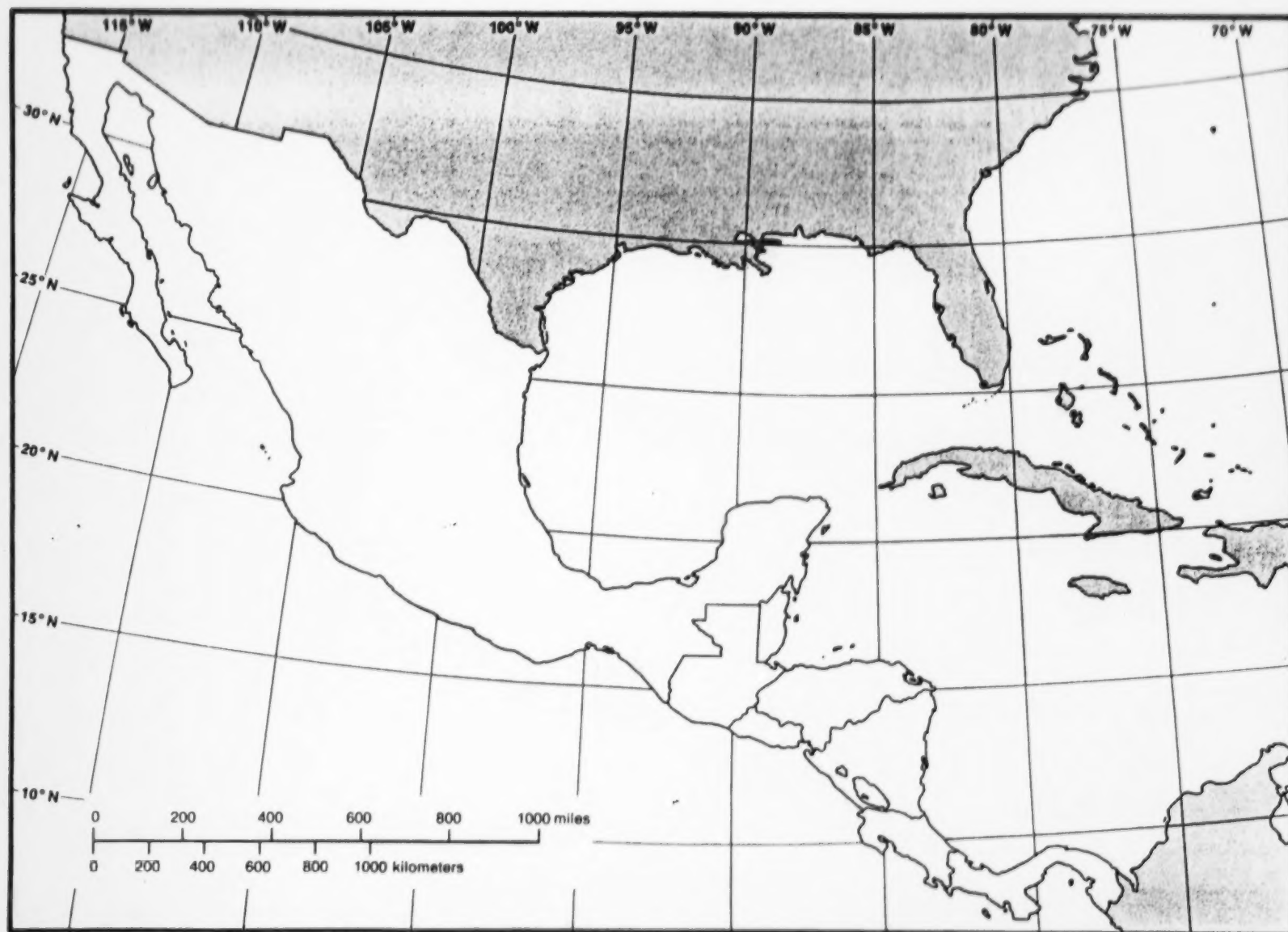
Copyright © 1987 by Merrill Publishing Company
Users of GLOBAL INSIGHTS have the publisher's permission to reproduce this page.

Appendix 2E

Western Hemisphere



MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA



WHERE IN THE WORLD IS EL SALVADOR? LIST OF ITEMS TO LOCATE

Directions: Locate and label the following items on the map of Central America.

Countries:

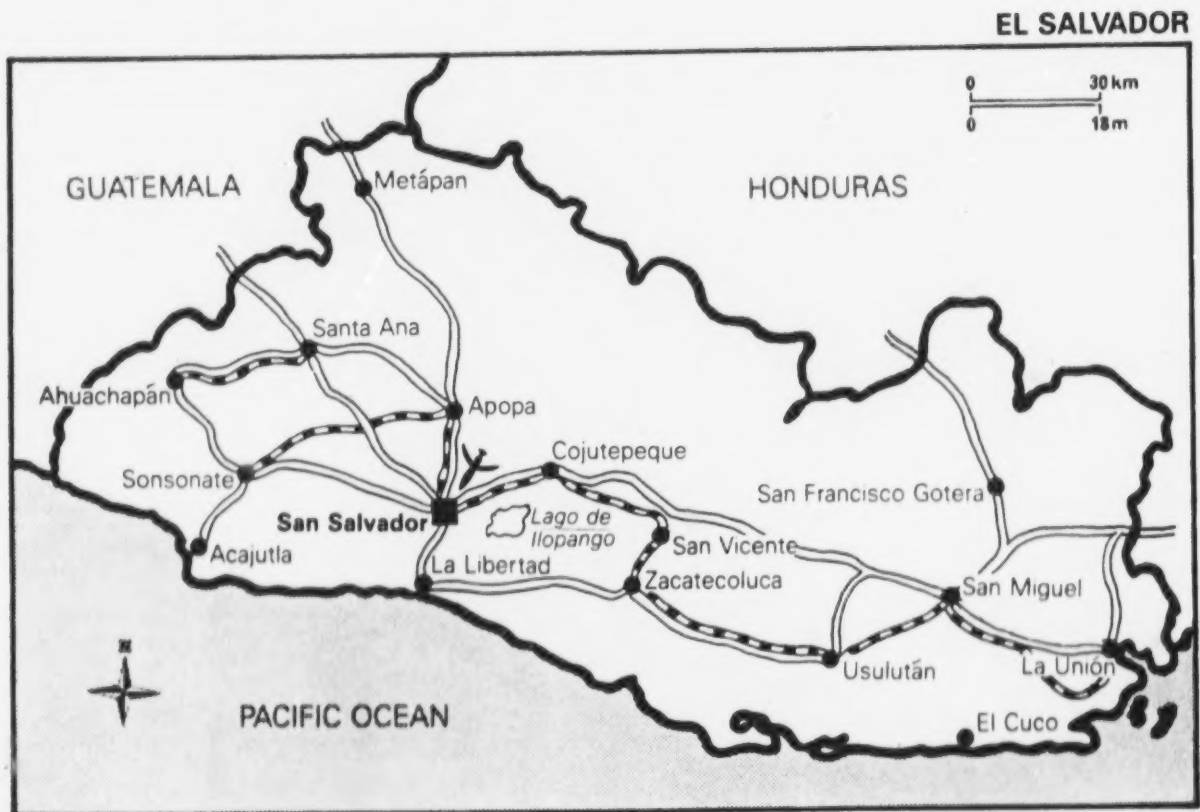
- Belize
- Costa Rica
- El Salvador
- Guatemala
- Honduras
- Mexico
- Nicaragua
- Panama
- United States

Cities:

- Belmopan
- Guatemala City
- Managua
- Mexico City
- Panama City
- San Jose
- San Salvador
- Tegucigalpa

Physical Features:

- Baja California
- Caribbean Sea
- Gulf of Mexico
- Lake Nicaragua
- Pacific Ocean
- Sierra Madre Occidental
- Sierra Madre Oriental
- Valley Of Mexico
- Yucatan Peninsula



Resource Packet

MAJOR CROPS, BY COUNTRY

Central America

Costa Rica	coffee, bananas, sugarcane, rice, corn, cocoa, livestock
Cuba	sugar, tobacco, rice, potatoes, tubers, citrus fruits, coffee
Dominican Republic	sugarcane, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, rice, corn
El Salvador	coffee, cotton, corn, sugar, beans, rice
Guatemala	coffee, cotton, corn, beans, sugarcane, bananas, livestock
Haiti	coffee, sugarcane, rice, corn, sorghum
Honduras	bananas, coffee, corn, beans, sugarcane, rice, tobacco
Mexico	corn, cotton, wheat, coffee, sugarcane, sorghum, oilseed, pulses, vegetables
Nicaragua	cotton, coffee, sugarcane, rice, corn, beans, cattle
Panama	bananas, rice, sugarcane, coffee, corn; self-sufficient in basic foods

South America

Argentina	cereals, oilseed, livestock products; major world exporter of temperate zone foodstuffs
Bolivia	potatoes, corn, rice, sugarcane, cocoa, yucca, bananas, coffee; imports significant quantities of wheat
Brazil	coffee, rice, corn, sugarcane, soybeans, cotton, manioc, oranges; nearly self-sufficient
Chile	wheat, potatoes, corn, sugar beets, onions, beans, fruits; net agricultural importer
Colombia	coffee, rice, corn, sugarcane, marijuana, cocoa, plantains, bananas, cotton, tobacco
Ecuador	bananas, coffee, cocoa, sugarcane, corn, potatoes, rice
Paraguay	oilseeds, cotton, wheat, manioc, sweet potatoes, tobacco, corn, rice, sugarcane; self-sufficient in most foods
Peru	wheat, potatoes, beans, rice, barley, coffee, cotton, sugarcane; imports: wheat, meat, lard and oils, rice, corn
Uruguay	large areas devoted to extensive livestock grazing; main crops: wheat, rice, corn, sorghum; self-sufficient in most basic foodstuffs
Venezuela	cereals, fruits, sugar, coffee, rice

Source: Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook* 1985

Resource Packet

MAJOR MINERALS IN LATIN AMERICA



Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Minerals Industries of Latin America, December 1981, P. 4

Resource Packet

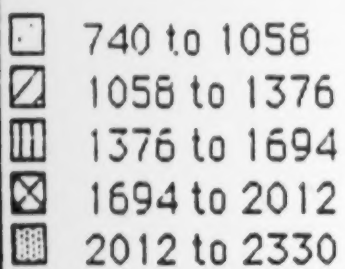
PERCENT OF LABOR FORCE IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

	Agriculture	Industry
<u>Central America</u>		
Costa Rica	33	20
Cuba	33	17
Dominican Republic	79	19
El Salvador	50	14
Guatemala	53	12
Haiti	79	7
Honduras	59	14
Mexico	33	33
Nicaragua	43	13
Panama	29	18
<u>South America</u>		
Argentina	57	25
Bolivia	70	10
Brazil	36	23
Chile	20	22
Colombia	30	15
Ecuador	56	18
Paraguay	53	19
Peru	42	13
Uruguay	20	29
Venezuela	24	23
Belize	39	20
Guyana	29	31
Suriname	29	15
<u>Others</u>		
Canada	..	..
China	75	..
East Germany	9	39
Egypt	50	13
India	70	..
Iran	33	21
Israel	6	25
Japan	11*	34
Nigeria	70	10
Philippines	47	12
South Africa	53	15
UK	..	..
USA	2.7	..
USSR	..	..
West Germany	5	43

* includes fishing
.. not available

Data from The 1985 Information Please Almanac, pp. 145-300

1986 Per Capita GNP(US\$)



DATA SHEET

CENTRAL AMERICA STATISTICS

Country	Persons/ Sq. Mile	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Population Doubling Time	Infant Mortality Rate	Pop. % Below Age 15	Life Expectancy	% Urban Population
Belize	25	37	6	22	36	44	69	50
Costa Rica	155	29	4	28	17	36	76	45
El Salvador	643	35	8	26	54	45	62	43
Guatemala	219	40	9	23	59	46	63	40
Honduras	119	39	8	23	63	47	63	42
Nicaragua	77	42	9	21	69	47	62	57
Panama	81	27	5	32	23	36	72	52

OTHER NATIONS FOR COMPARISON

China	302	21	7	49	37	27	68	21
India	672	32	11	33	95	39	57	26
France	267	14	9	157	7.5	20	77	73
Japan	860	10	6	175	4.8	20	79	77
Chad	10	44	20	28	132	43	46	27
United States	70	16	9	92	9.7	22	75	75
Soviet Union	34	19	10	80	29	25	69	66



Testimonials

TERESA'S SCHOOL DAY

(Middle Class)

Teresa's school is on the edge of the town where she lives. Every morning she walks to school wearing a white blouse, plaid skirt, white stockings, and black shoes. Teresa carries her books in a book bag called a *bolsone*. Girls carry their books in a bookbag while boys carry their books in a backpack.

As Teresa approaches the school, she can hear her classmates playing in the school yard. The school is made up of three long buildings in a row with a soccer field at one end. Teresa walks fast because she doesn't want to be late for *formación*. She arrives just in time, waves to her friend Luisa, and gets in line with her classmates.

After *formación* Teresa and her third grade classmates go to their room and wait for their teacher. When Senorita Lopez walks in, she says "Buenos dias, clase." ("Good morning, class") "Buenos dias, Senorita Lopez," the class responds. Then Senorita Lopez takes roll. When she says "Teresa Rivera," Teresa stands up and says "presente" ("present").

Math - Teresa's favorite subject - is the first class of the day. Since her class is large (there are forty five students in one room) and because there are not enough books to go around, each student shares a book with a math partner. Today Teresa is called on to demonstrate a multiplication problem on the blackboard. Senorita Lopez compliments her for doing it correctly and continues the lesson.

Each class period last one hour. After the first period, there is a short recess when the students go outside to play and buy mangoes or candies from the nearest vendor. When recess is over, it's time for social science. Since the third graders are learning about their country, Senorita Lopez calls fourteen students to the front of the class. Each of them represents one of the departments, or provinces, of El Salvador. She asks them, one at a time, to name the capital of their department, the major rivers and lakes, and

several other places and geographic features of their country.

The last two classes of the day are Spanish grammar and natural science. In grammar class, the students practice verb conjugations. Senorita Lopez says "comer" (to eat), and the class responds: "como" ("I eat"); "comes" ("you eat"); "come" ("he/she eats"); "comemos" ("we eat"); "comen" ("they eat"). The students continue with harder verbs and then work on spelling.

Science class is spent discussing various kinds of trees found in El Salvador. When the clock strikes twelve and the bell rings, Teresa stuffs her books in her *bolsone*. But she doesn't leave before Senorita Lopez says "Deberes, clase" ("homework, class") and quickly writes a homework assignment on the board. Teresa copies the assignment in her notebook and then runs home.

Teresa's mother has prepared a big lunch of soup, tortillas, chicken, and rice. Since Teresa is very hungry, she sets the table quickly. After lunch and a short nap, she goes to her friend Luisa's house to meet with her study group.

Everyone in Teresa's class belongs to a study group made up of twelve to fifteen students. Study groups prepare for the final exams given at the end of October. All Salvadoran students take final exams at the end of the school year, and the third graders will be tested on the four classes they have. Students who don't pass the exam have to repeat the grade. This afternoon Teresa's study group decides to work on spelling.

Testimonials TOMAS'S STORY

(Low-Income)

Tomas started the first grade when he was seven. Because his family was poor, it took a great deal of effort for him to finish primary school. In first grade Tomas didn't have shoes. He had to wear patched shorts instead of long pants, and he had only one shirt. He carried a thin notebook and a pencil in a plastic bag. During recess, when most of his classmates were outside playing, Tomas stayed inside to study. He wanted to learn as much as he could since he hoped to go to the university some day.

When Tomas was in third grade, he had to work during the day. He hoed tobacco and

earned money equal to twenty five U.S. cents for fifteen hours of work. At night Tomas went to school. When he was working, he could buy himself a pair of shoes and a pair of long pants.

Tomas didn't have the opportunity to attend secondary school because the war caused his school to close. Now he reads books at the priest's library and picks up any piece of paper he sees on the street, just to practice his reading. Tomas would like to return to school some day, but he doesn't know when that will be possible.

Testimonials

MARIA'S STORY

(Wealthy)

Our school year starts in January. We have a week off in March (Holy Week). In the summer, we have about two weeks off and in October, we are finished.

Every weekday I wake up at 5:30 a.m. to get ready to go to school; at 6:30 I ride the bus. We start classes at 7:20, with five main classes (math, science, social studies, Spanish and English). In senior high and in 9th grade you have more main classes like physics, biology and chemistry. We have English every day, two days spent in grammar, one day in spelling, and two days in reading.

We are finished with the school day at 2:15 or 3:30 or 12:00 (it is a different time every day).

If you want to be a teacher, you take an extra grade (12) and you graduate as a teacher from school.

After school you can practice different sports like volleyball, basketball, track, swimming, and softball, but they are optional. Then you can compete against different schools. But not too many people practice sports in school; like myself, because I prefer to go to other clubs.

After school I always have something to do. I go home and get ready to go to my tennis or jazz practice at a club. You can be part of a team and compete against other clubs.

When I'm finished, I go to the supermarket or to my grandparents with my mom. Then I get home and do my homework, watch TV and eat supper, and go to bed about 10:00 p.m.

For my school, religion is very important, so we have a lot of different activities on holidays, like parades, games, ceremonies or days off.

For fun, most Friday nights we go to the show or to fast food restaurants with friends. Later, we have a party with people from different schools. There are lots of people, about 400 to

800, ages 13-19. These parties are in clubs or big houses.

On Saturday we wake up about 9:30, eat breakfast and get ready to go to my grandparents to eat dinner (with all the cousins, aunts and uncles). We are about 48 all together, and sometimes we go to church on Saturday night. Some Saturday nights we have parties also.

On Sundays we wake up late and we have breakfast all together. Then we go to my grandparents house to eat dinner—with all of the family together. We eat, talk and then we go back home and watch TV, and get ready to start another week.

When we are on vacation, we do different things, like sometimes I go to a kind of summer school, where we practice sports, painting, cooking and doing other things; or we just stay home; and in my case, all my cousins, aunts, uncles and grandmother live in the same place and we have a big garden where every morning and afternoon we play different games like soccer, basketball, baseball and tennis.

On some weekends and holidays we go to my weekend house, that is near a lake (3 hours from the city), and we swim, play volleyball, baseball and we water-ski, ride boats and windsurf all morning and afternoon.

At night we play games like Pictionary, Monopoly, Clue and Scruples, or get together with lots of friends with houses near this lake and have some pop and chips and talk and listen to music.

We have maids who cook and clean our houses.

Life Situations

Discuss and try to resolve several of the following situations:

1. One of the major breadwinners in your family gets ill. How does this effect the family?
2. You wake up sick one morning. What are the options for you and family members?
3. The bus fare went up from 5 to 10 cents. How does this affect you?
4. Look out your window. What do you see? Create a vision for the rest of the class. Give the group options for how to present the information.
5. Inflation is up 100%. How does this effect you?
6. School is out for the day and you have no homework. What options for recreation are there?
7. Describe a typical school day.
8. The government has cut the education budget by 50%. How does this effect your group?
9. What does education mean to you as a member of your group? What effect will it have on your future as a member of that group?
10. Imagine you are in the group with the top 20% of income. How do you feel about other groups?
11. You see a poor person caught stealing food. How do you feel? What do you feel a fair treatment for this person would be?
12. The school year has ended. What are your plans for this time?

Groups should share their ideas on the topics selected.

GROUP DESCRIPTION

Wealthy Landowner

You represent less than 2% of the population of El Salvador, but you own over 60% of the agricultural land. You are very, very wealthy, a millionaire. You grow coffee and other crops for export, because you can make more money on these export crops than you can growing corn, beans and vegetables for consumption within El Salvador. Most of the exports from your plantation are shipped to the U.S. and you make a very handsome profit. You often travel to the U.S. You have friends in the U.S., some of whom are very influential.

You hire peasants to work on your plantation. You feel that you are providing jobs, and that you are bringing wealth into the country. You strongly believe in the free enterprise system. You pay the workers for your plantation \$2 per day. They take the jobs because there are no other jobs available.

You know that most Salvadorans are poor, and do not own any land. You know that they want land to grow food to feed themselves and their children. You feel that if they did receive land, they wouldn't know how to farm it. You also feel threatened, because you are outnumbered by the massive numbers of poor people who want land.

Appendix 4C

GROUP OPTIONS

Wealthy Landowner

Possible Options

To enable you to feel more secure, you might consider hiring a couple of peasants, fairly cheaply, to guard your plantation, and be your bodyguards. You can pay them two M&M's a day.

You know that it is in your interest to keep these peasants under control, and so you recognize that a strong army which will defend the interests of the landowners is essential to maintaining the status quo. You support the idea of a strong army in El Salvador. You can secretly put in the request to your friends in high places in the army, to threaten those who are organizing for higher wages or for land redistribution with "disappearance." To encourage this, you might pay the soldiers involved. You could pay them 2 M&M's.

Or you might be able to buy off the organizer, to keep him/her quiet and satisfied.

On the other hand, you might explore ways of justly resolving the situation with the landless and small landowners and your employees.

Appendix 4D

GROUP DESCRIPTION

The Landless

You own nothing but the ability to work. However, El Salvador has 65% unemployment. It is very difficult to find a job. You and your children are malnourished. You want a job that pays a living wage, or land on which you can grow corn and vegetables for yourselves and your children. You want housing and access to health care.

You are well aware of the inequalities in El Salvador. You know things need to change. You also know that people who spoke out often were "disappeared."

You survived the twelve years of civil war. You want peace.

Appendix 4C

GROUP OPTIONS

The Landless

Some Possible Options

You can try to convince the wealthy plantation owner that you are a very good worker, and that he should hire you.

You can turn to crime and steal from people who own property.

You can join together to organize to demand land redistribution, or jobs. You can ask the small farmers to help you. But, there may be consequences. During the war hundreds of people were "disappeared" for similar efforts.

You can try to find a better life in another country. You can become a refugee in hopes of finding a job in another country.

GROUP DESCRIPTION

Subsistence/Medium Size Land Owners

You own small plots of land which you inherited from your ancestors. The plots of land are just large enough to enable you to subsist--to grow barely enough corn and vegetables to feed your family. You have very little. You generally can't afford to buy much. Often your children can't go to school, because you need them to help in the field, or to bring in money for the family by gathering and selling firewood or some other job. You would like to have more, to make life better, but you just aren't able to get beyond surviving.

You know that there are people much poorer than you, and you see the extreme wealth of the plantation owner. You know that things are unfair in El Salvador. Sometimes, organizers ask you to join them to work for change, but often, you feel that to keep what you have safe, you better not say anything. There had been too many "disappearances" and "death squad" massacres during the war years.

You were tired of the war and you want the Peace Accords to succeed.

Appendix 4C

GROUP OPTIONS

Subsistence/Medium Size Land Owners

Some Possible Options

You could try to convince other small landowners to join together in co-operatives. This might help you save money on necessary farming instruments, and farm animals, because the price goes down when these things are purchased in larger quantities. Cooperative farming, on a small scale, may be more efficient.

You could join those who are working for and demanding a more fair distribution of the land, and just wages, which would improve the living conditions of the majority. But to do so might risk your life.

You could make money by offering to spy on your neighbors for the plantation owner--to keep an eye out for possible "trouble makers" i.e. organizers.

Appendix 4D

GROUP DESCRIPTION

The Military

Your job is to guard the "status quo"--the current distribution of wealth and land. Being in the military means a job, regular meals and boots on your feet. You have been trained to think of anyone who is trying to change things in El Salvador as a threat, a "subversive" or a "terrorist" You are trained to follow orders. You do what your superior officers tell you to do. You were targeted by the FMLN Guerrillas.

Appendix 4C

GROUP OPTIONS

The Military

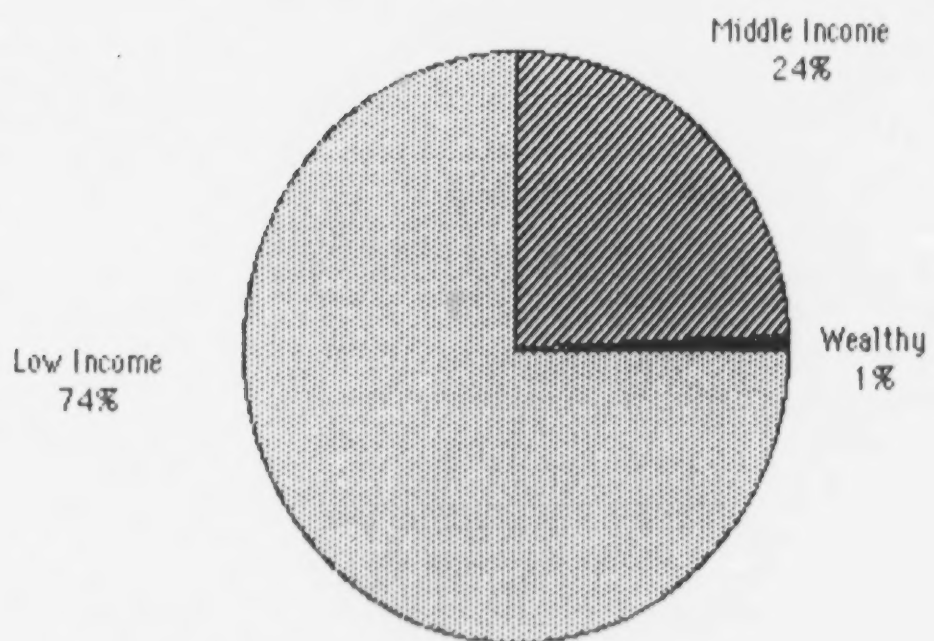
Some Possible Options

You can continue to be a good soldier and follow orders.

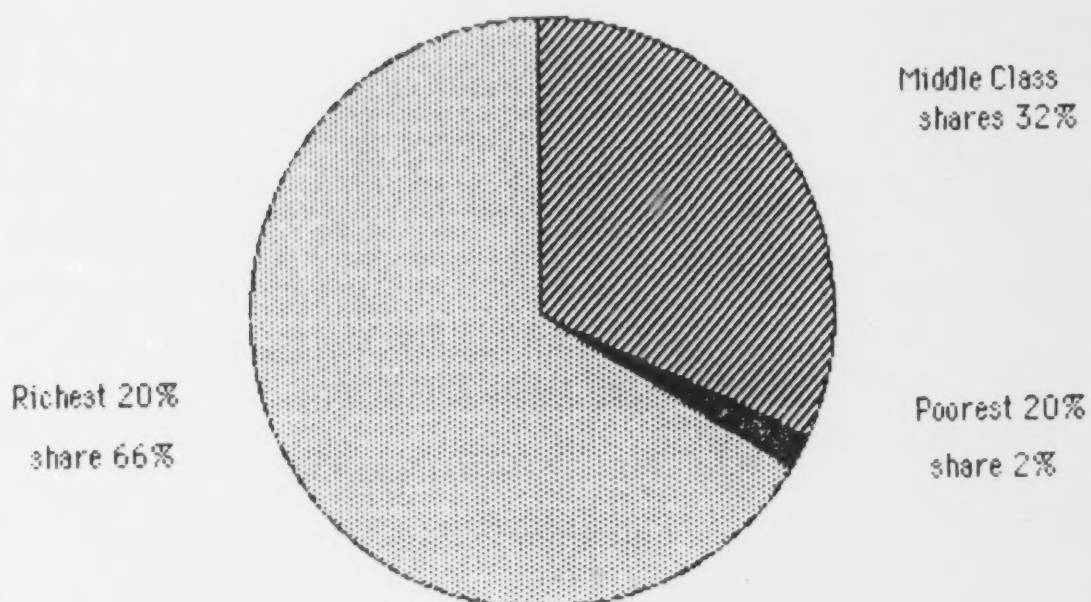
You could desert the army, but this would mean going into hiding within El Salvador, because the rest of the army would search for you and perhaps kill you if you were found. You could flee the country and become a refugee.

You could desert the army and sell your M-16 rifle on the black market. The cost of one M16 is more than the annual income of the average Salvadoran.

DIVISION OF POPULATION



DIVISION OF INCOME



Background Sheet

(Adapted from publications of the El Salvador Public Information Campaign, P.O. Box 9326, Washington, D.C. 20005 and reprinted with their permission.)

El Salvador is the smallest country in Central America--8,260 square miles--about the size of Massachusetts. It is about 160 miles long and 60 miles wide. Its capital is San Salvador.

When Pedro de Alvarado invaded from Mexico in 1524 and claimed El Salvador for the Spanish crown, the country was populated with close to 130,000 Indians of Mayan descent--Pipil, Polomam and Lenca peoples. This population declined 80% over the first century of Spanish rule. Today El Salvador has around five million people. In the past twelve years, civil war and the 1986 earthquake have displaced over 10% of the population within the country and forced a million Salvadorans to take refuge in other countries.

When the Spanish arrived, they found the people growing diverse crops of beans, pumpkins, chiles, avocados, corn, guavas, papayas, tomatoes, cocoa, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and elderberries. Today, three big plantation crops--coffee, sugarcane and cotton--dominate agriculture. Over 40% of the rural population is landless; 70% live in extreme poverty.

In 1821, when Central America declared its independence from Spain, large plantation owners formed the nucleus of El Salvador's new oligarchy. By the 1880's a second wave of immigrant coffee growers joined the group that concentrated most of the country's arable land in its hands. El Salvador's oligarchy moved rapidly in 1881 to privatize all communally held Indian lands and deepened the polarization between wealth and poverty. Peasant revolts broke out and to ensure control, the oligarchy began to build up armed military training schools in 1890 and in 1912, the government created a special security force, the National Guard, to enforce the landlords' law.

A Brief Chronology

1932 La Matanza--A nationwide uprising led by Augustin Farabundo Marti. Peasants and farmworkers march on cities, but coordination breaks down and 4,000 are killed. The Army unleashes a campaign of wholesale slaughter known as "La Matanza" (the massacre) in which 30,000 people die (4% of the population).

1960's--Opposition parties are allowed to organize for the first time since 1934 and union and peasant organizing also begins to take root.

1968--the Latin American bishops Conference in Medellin Colombia, sanctions liberation theology, a theology that believes that God wants justice and dignity for all people, including the poor. It professes a "preferential option for the poor," that is, that the needs of the poor should be the highest priority of the church. Small groups discuss the gospel and what it means for their lives as poor people. Salvadoran clergy promote liberation theology and "base Christian communities" become widespread throughout the country.

1975-1980--Hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, students, teachers and church activists form mass popular organizations to pressure for change through demonstrations, labor strikes and civil dis-

obedience. As opposition mounts, repression increases, military death squads begin to kill and "disappear" large numbers.

Mar. 24, 1980--Archbishop Romero is assassinated while saying mass. He had recently called upon the armed forces to stop the killing.

Nov. 1980--The Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) is formed, made up of five armed rebel factions.

1981--Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson founds the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party from a conglomerate of right-wing groups.

Mar. 1984--Jose Napoleon Duarte, with strong backing from the U.S., defeats Roberto D'Aubuisson for the presidency. U.S. Congress approves massive amounts of aid.

1987--The Central American presidents sign Esquipulas II peace accords.

Mar. 1989--amidst charges of fraud and intimidation and the lowest voter turnout recorded, ARENA candidate Alfredo Cristiani wins the presidency.

By the end of the 1980's approximately 25% of Salvadoran territory, containing about 300,000 people, is under the control of the FMLN--mostly in the north and east of San Salvador. These areas are governed through democratic committees. Schools, medical clinics, and agricultural cooperatives are established.

Nov. 1989--Six Jesuit priests and two women are assassinated at the University of Central America by the Salvadoran military.

April 1990--A series of negotiations between the FMLN and the Salvadoran government is scheduled, to be moderated by the United Nations. The negotiation session which ended in April '91 brought agreement to change the Constitution to place the military under the civilian government's control.

Dec. 31, 1991--The Salvadoran Government and the FMLN signed a Peace Accord which ended the twelve year civil war.

Over 75,000 people, including at least 46,000 civilians, have died during this civil war. Human rights abuses, disappearances, tortures, detentions, and death squad murders continue. According to international human rights organizations, the majority of these abuses are at the hands of the Salvadoran military. (The Non-Governmental Human Rights Commission of El Salvador reports that in 1990, of 1323 recorded assassinations, 1005 were committed by the Salvadoran military, 27 by the FMLN and the rest by unknown elements.) The U.S. has sent approximately 4.5 billion in economic and military aid to the Salvadoran government in the past decade.

GROUP QUESTIONS, POSITION STATEMENTS AND TALKING POINTS

Salvadoran Church

Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What are the church perspectives on the situation in El Salvador?
2. What are the religious communities doing in response to the situation in El Salvador?
3. What concerns do people of faith have for the nation?



The Salvadoran Church Position Statements

The following quotations are taken from a variety of individuals who are part of "The Church" in El Salvador:

"For the last twenty years we have been engaged in a liberation struggle in El Salvador. This struggle grew out of our awareness of the need to transform unjust structures in our society. In this transformation, a new model of church is being born. We call unjust structures "sinful" because they go against the will of God; It's against these structures that we must struggle. Not only a new model of society, but a new model of being Christian and of being Church is at stake." Father Miguel Ventura, a Salvadoran priest, from El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

"They call us subversives, but the truth is that the Lutheran Church in El Salvador is effectively giving its option for the poor. The Church is well known for supporting the dialogue between the government and the FMLN guerrillas. For example, we participate in the National Debate for Peace, and we have publicly stated our position. The Lutheran church has become an active Christian protagonist in the midst of the tragedy of El Salvador."--From El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

"Insist upon a cease fire, dialogue and negotiation. Say no to military aid. Through prayers, vigils and concrete actions in the search for peace, we will achieve better conditions for life." Lutheran Bishop Medardo Gomez, Dec. 12, 1989.

"We are a hard-working people, and our children deserve a better today and much better tomorrow. Yet our rivers, our lakes, and our mountains are stained with blood. We are a people who want liberty, who want an authentic democracy. We are against the forces of death, and we want a truly prosperous country that we construct with the work of all. For all these reasons, my brothers and sister, in the name of the Salvadoran people, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I urge you to continue your struggle together until we have peace with social justice in El Salvador... We want negotiation, and we want peace." Edgar Palacios, pastor, Shalom Baptist Church in San Salvador and the coordinator on the Permanent Commission of the National Debate for Peace in El Salvador.

"Beginning in 1969, the movement of Christian base communities took root in the poor communities of El Salvador. Small groups gather, often in homes, to study the Bible and celebrate the sacraments as communities of faith. Their discussions lead to new interpretations of the Gospel based on their daily experiences." From El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

"We believe that the poor, the illiterate and the sick, the persecuted and tortured, are closest to the

Gospel of Jesus. Through them, Christ challenges us to work for justice and peace. Their cause is our cause. We believe that Christ is also present in those who are slaves to their passions, to vices, lies and injustice, to power and money. We commit ourselves to never give up hope in the possibility of their conversion; to love them even though they slander, persecute and kill us; to pray for them and to help them so that one day they may live simply and humbly in the way that the Gospel calls all of us to live." From *Profession of Faith of the Christian Base Communities*.

"I am very happy that priests are being murdered in El Salvador...it would be a very sad thing if, in a country where so many people are being assassinated, priests were not among them. If there are priests assassinated, it is because the Church, our Christian faith, our faith in God, have become truly Salvadoran." Archbishop Romero (who, himself, was assassinated in 1980.)

The Salvadoran Church Talking Points

(These are viewpoints from the Catholic Church and several Protestant Churches.)

*God loves all people and wants all people to lead a dignified life. God does not wish for people to go hungry or to suffer.

*With "liberation theology" we are called to take the side of the poor.

*The economic situation in El Salvador is unjust. There are a few people who own most of the land and the wealth and they are very, very rich. But the majority of the people are very, very poor. The church has a responsibility to help the poor.

*We help the poor try to find their "disappeared" relatives. We have an office which keeps track of human rights abuses and we try to intervene on behalf of the poor.

*Because church workers have worked with the poor, they have been killed by death squads related to the military. On March 24, 1980, Archbishop Romero was killed shortly after his sermon calling upon the military to stop the killing. In Dec. 1980 four U.S. church women who were working with the poor were raped and murdered. In Nov. of '89, six Jesuit priests and their cook and her daughter were murdered by the military. These are just a few. There are many many other church workers who were killed. There were over 75,000 people killed in the 12 years of this civil war. At least 45,000 of those people were civilians. Some of them were killed by the FMLN, but most were killed by the military.

*We do not condone violence. We recognize that dialogue and negotiation are the way to resolve conflict. We have been involved in efforts to foster dialogue between the many different groups in this country.

GROUP QUESTIONS, POSITION STATEMENTS AND TALKING POINTS

U. S. Government



Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What is the official position of the U.S. Government?
2. How does this position benefit the United States? How does this position benefit the Salvadoran People?

U. S. Government Position Statements

(Reprinted from Harriet Culley, Ed. "El Salvador: U.S. Policy," *Gist*, Washington D.C., Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, May, 1989. Phone (202) 647-1208.)

A Marxist-led insurgency... threatens the democratic consolidation in El Salvador. Under pressure from the better-trained and more professional Salvadoran Armed Forces, the guerrillas of the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) have resorted increasingly to urban terrorism and attacks on the vulnerable economic infrastructure of the country; meanwhile, popular support for the guerrillas continued to wane.

Central American Peace Agreement: El Salvador is a party to the several accords that the Central American countries have signed. Among them is the August 1987 Central American Peace Agreement that (1) called upon regional and outside governments to cease aiding insurgent movements in the region and to prevent their territory's use by insurgent forces; (2) required the participating governments to institute reforms promoting democracy; (3) offered amnesty to political prisoners; and (4) provided for negotiations on a cease-fire and process of national reconciliation in the signatory countries undergoing civil conflict.

US Goals: U.S. policy goals for Central America are based on the recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, known as the "Kissinger Commission," which concluded in 1984 that economic and political instability, exacerbated by external subversion, was acute. With overwhelming bipartisan support, Congress has since passed legislation designed to implement the Commission's recommendations. These included advancing the cause of democracy, improving economic conditions, promoting peaceful change, strengthening hemispheric cooperation, preventing hostile, antidemocratic forces from gaining a strategic foothold, and preventing the Soviet Union from increasing its influence in the region. The U.S. Congress and the Administration emphasized the shared goals of achieving democracy and ending subversion on the isthmus when they issued a bipartisan statement for Central America on March 24.

Political Development: U.S. policy has promoted the consolidation of the democratic political process in El Salvador. With US encouragement and technical assistance, El Salvador has held six elections since 1982, all of which were closely scrutinized by hundreds of observers from around the world, including the press. These elections were uniformly judged to have been fair and honest.

Social Development: A key component of U.S. policy and programs has been the improvement of human rights observance. Under President Duarte's government, strengthened democratic institutions, civilian leadership, professional training, and human rights instruction have helped curb abuses by the armed and public security forces. Vice President Quayle, during a visit to El Salvador, reiterated the

importance the Administration places on continued improvement in the human rights area. A second important area of U.S. concern is judicial reform, with the goal of a well-trained, independent judiciary free of intimidation, political influence, and corruption. Other US programs help the Salvadoran government meet the population's housing, education, and health needs.

Economic Development: U.S. policy promotes economic recovery by helping the government restore growth and achieve financial stability. We promote economic development by engaging the private sector in way to stimulate investment and by encouraging economic policy adjustments and export diversification. For the last three years, the Salvadoran economy has registered modest growth.

Military Assistance: U.S. military assistance, totalling about 20% of U.S. aid to El Salvador, is designed to help the armed forces counter the guerrillas' threat to the democratically elected government so that political, social, and economic development can continue. Military assistance seeks to promote Salvadoran self-sufficiency and respect for human rights.

U.S. Government Talking Points

*We need to protect U.S. interests in El Salvador. It is in our interest to have a stable government, therefore we need to support the current government.

*We want to foster democracy in El Salvador. We feel that change will come slowly but surely in El Salvador. We hope to influence this in a positive way.

*The FMLN are communists. They have used violence. They have fought against the democratically elected Salvadoran government, and we, the U.S., support that government. Therefore, the U.S. should continue to give military aid to El Salvador and should continue to train Salvadoran soldiers both in El Salvador and at U.S. Army bases here in the U.S.

We are, of course, concerned about human rights, so we would like to see El Salvador improve its human rights record and be able to better control its military.

*Our military aid to El Salvador is only a part of all the aid we give. A large amount of our aid to El Salvador goes to help build up the infrastructure of El Salvador.

GROUP QUESTIONS, POSITION STATEMENTS AND TALKING POINTS

Salvadoran Government

The Salvadoran Government Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What is your view on events in El Salvador?
2. What are you doing to help the Salvadoran people?
3. What are you doing with U.S. aid money?
4. How do you explain the large number of civilian casualties?



The Salvadoran Government Position Statement

See article by Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani. (Appendix 5E)

The Salvadoran Government Talking Points

*There is democracy in El Salvador. This government is a democratically elected government.

*We are making changes. Things are improving. We are working hard to improve our human rights record.

*The United States should continue sending us military and economic aid because El Salvador is improving.

*The FMLN had planted mines which exploded when children accidentally stepped on them.

*We are in the process of bringing to justice the murderers of the six Jesuit priests and two women who were killed in Nov. 1989.

*The main problem with our military was that it had a few "bad apples" in it. We are working to find those individuals and weed them out of the army. Once we have accomplished this, you will not hear of any human rights abuses at the hands of the Salvadoran military.

*When it comes to redistribution of land, why, if we redistributed land, the peasants would not know how to manage it. It is in the best interest of the country to allow the current landowners, who know how to manage the land, continue to do so.

GROUP QUESTIONS, POSITION STATEMENTS AND TALKING POINTS

The FMLN

Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What is your group seeking? What kind of changes do you want?
2. Who does your group represent?
3. How do you explain the large number of civilian casualties?



The FMLN Position Statement

Democratic revolution is needed in El Salvador to put an end to domination by the military and the wealthy and to establish peace. Our struggle is rooted in Salvadoran reality. This movement for change involves a broad spectrum of the population; the FMLN is one part of this movement. The FMLN took up arms to accomplish four things: the end of militarism, a new social and economic order, the democratization of the nation and the restoration of sovereignty and an independent foreign policy.

The End of Militarism

In the past, the Army has served to protect the interests of the wealthy and the United States government. The army has cruelly repressed the Salvadoran people. We proposed to abolish the Army and establish a new professional "public security force" trained in human rights, and to put on trial those responsible for crimes, massacres, disappearances and torture, bringing an end to political persecution.

A New Economic and Social Order

As long as the wealth of El Salvador is concentrated in the hands of a few, there will be no true democracy and no equal opportunity for all. We proposed land reform, to put most farm land into the hands of small and medium scale farmers; expansion of a popular economic sector, including cooperatives, collective and private ownership in all areas of production; urban reform to establish a just system of property ownership in cities and access to financing and public services; access to food, health care, literacy, education, housing, culture and recreation; a consensus building process around salaries, prices, employment and credit; laws and citizen's organizations to protect our environment; and laws establishing equal rights for women.

National Democratization

We proposed that the legislative branch be expanded and steps be taken to democratize and pluralize the municipal councils. An independent and impartial judicial branch will be established which respects the legal rights of all. Legislation will be adopted to insure protection of human rights and freedom of expression, including freedom of speech, press, assembly and petition.

According to FMLN negotiator Salvador Samayoa, the FMLN seeks "a gradual, symmetrical and simultaneous process to dismantle and eliminate the FMLN and Salvadoran government armies and create a new civilian police force as Costa Rica has." The FMLN believes that this process of total demilitarization should begin with submitting the Armed Forces to civilian authority, cleansing the officer corps, abolishing instruments of state-sponsored repression, ending forced recruitment and bringing human rights violators to justice.

The FMLN Talking Points

*We recognize that the economic system in El Salvador is unjust. Very few people own and control the land and the wealth of El Salvador. Those few people are very, very rich. The landowners produce coffee, cotton, beef and other crops for export. Meanwhile, the rest of the people in El Salvador are extremely poor. People are dying of malnutrition. Things have to change!

*Landowners and business owners pay very low wages to factory workers and campesinos. (Coffee pickers get \$2/day!) When people organized themselves to demand just wages, the government sent in the death squads to murder their leaders.

*We feel that people have the right to a decent life. We want food, medicine, education, decent housing and jobs that pay a living wage.

*There has been no democracy in El Salvador. Elections in El Salvador have been shown to be riddled with fraud. In the 1989 Presidential elections, less than 20% of all eligible voters voted for Cristiani. All sorts of things went on during the elections—ballot stuffing, miscounts, intimidation of voters, etc. The same thing happened in March of 1991 with the elections for the legislature and mayors of districts. In a number of departments, ballots which had been marked for the opposition parties were found thrown in garbage dumps, some of the ballots did not even have the opposition parties printed on them. Thousands of registered voters never received voting cards and there were reports of polling places closing before everyone in line had a chance to vote.

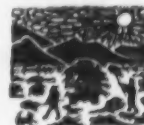
*The Salvadoran military violated human rights all the time. They "disappeared" labor union leaders, church workers, teachers, almost anyone they think is working for change. They tortured and killed people.

*The U.S. and Salvadoran governments have accused us of being Communists. But the vast majority of our leaders and members are not Communist. All we want is justice: jobs, a just wage, a chance to go to school, and opportunity to have decent housing and clean water and health care, and the ability to either grow food or make enough money to buy the food we need to feed our children.

*We did not like to use violence. We did not like to have to be at war, but it was our last resort. Since the system would not change by itself, we had to make it change. The people of El Salvador have been suffering for centuries because of this unequal distribution of land and unfair wages. We have tried to change these inequalities by non-violent means, but those efforts had no effect. We realized that after 12 years of civil war, it was clear that neither side, the military nor our side, had the ability to win. We felt it was time to demilitarize our country, to stop the war and sit down to negotiate a peaceful and just settlement to these problems and to share the work of governing our country.

GROUP QUESTIONS, POSITION STATEMENTS AND TALKING POINTS

Salvadoran Peasants and Workers



Questions

Read your article to discover:

1. What changes do the poor peasants and workers see as necessary?
2. How do peasants and workers feel about their government and military, the FMLN/FDR, the Churches and the U.S. Government?

Salvadoran Peasants & Workers Position Statement

The following are quotes from peasants and representatives of community organizations:

"I worked the hacienda over there, and I would have to feed the dogs bowls of meat or bowls of milk every morning, and I could never put those on the table for my own children. When my children were ill, they died with a nod of sympathy from the landlord. But when those dogs were ill, I took them to the veterinarian...You will never understand violence or nonviolence until you understand the violence to the spirit that happens from watching your children die of malnutrition." A peasant in El Salvador as quoted from the film Witness to War: An American Doctor in El Salvador.

"Our houses are shacks built with discarded tin, cardboard, plastic or other junk. Some of us live in one small room made of mud and sticks. We have to wrap our children in plastic so that they will not get wet. Our shacks are next to rivers filled with sewage. We live with the fear that the rains will carry our homes and children away. Some of us live along the railroad tracks. We are always afraid that a train will run over and kill our children...

We almost never have steady work. When we find work we are paid extremely low wages. We do whatever work we can find. We sell fruit, vegetables, newspapers or bottles. Our children are often left without care during the day.

Nutrition is always poor because our low wages do not permit us to buy enough food. The rising cost of basic foods has made this situation even worse. Many of our families survive by picking through the garbage for food. Others have resigned themselves to waking up and going to bed hungry.

We marginalized women share many of the same problems, and if we organize, we can overcome them."

The testimony of women in El Salvador, quoted from El Salvador: a Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry.

Salvadoran Peasants & Workers Talking Points

*We are poor. 65% of us are unemployed or under-employed.

*We want jobs with just wages. We cannot survive on jobs which pay only \$2 per day. We want education.

*We are tired of seeing our children die of malnutrition.

*Many of us were scared. There was fighting between the FMLN and the army, but often, even though we did not take sides, we were the victims. The army indiscriminately bombed our villages. The death squads killed or "disappeared" our loved ones and our neighbors. The military kidnapped our youth and forced them to join the army. Thousands of our community leaders had been targeted by the death squads—teachers, labor union leaders, church workers, health care workers...this has meant a great loss to the development of our country.

*The war has also ruined bridges, roads and water supplies.

*We want land so that we can grow food to feed our children.

*Some of us have had to flee the country to escape from the military and the war. We became refugees and went to other countries. There were entire village communities that fled.

*We are hard working people. We want our children to have better lives.

Has Peace Really Arrived?

In the negotiations, as in so many things concerning El Salvador, the extraordinary became commonplace. By the end of twenty months of talks between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN, we had almost come to assume that somehow in each round of talks, irreconcilable positions and impossible dilemmas would be resolved at the last minute.

True to form, after weeks of very public skepticism and denunciations, the final accord ending the Salvadoran war came just five minutes before the New Year's deadline. The exhausted but triumphant U.N. mediator, Alvaro de Soto, called the agreement an unprecedented outcome in negotiations, a "negotiated revolution."

The reaction in El Salvador to news of the cease fire agreement seemed at first to have been one of uncertainty and wary optimism. Deep skepticism at the willingness of the country's elite to allow change, and fear of the military's response warred with hope and a growing belief that the peace process had become irreversible.

Doubts seemed very justified. Almost immediately after the news reached San Salvador, a bomb exploded in the parking lot of the Camino Real Hotel, destroying the car of a Reuters journalist. Soon after, the military initiated a massive forced recruitment campaign, which the FMLN charged was aimed at artificially increasing the size of the army prior to reestablishing a timetable for its reduction. Battles continued in some areas of the country and eleven members of the National Council of Churches received death threats. Finally, the government showed up a day late for January talks to settle on a calendar for accords implementation. Those talks quickly deadlocked over the issue of whether FMLN or army elite battalions would disarm first.

Although doubts remained, gradually the mood began to change. Previously unthinkable things began to happen. Rebel combatants in civilian dress spoke of rallies in the city and were interviewed on radio and television. Marchers openly carried FMLN banners without police reprisals. On January 11, the government announced extensive changes in military commands that seemed aimed at reducing the influence of some of the most notorious officers, shifting power towards younger, non-Tandona officers, and possibly towards preventing a right-wing coup.

Early on January 14, an agreement on an implementation time-line was reached, assuring that a cease fire would be signed on the 16th as planned. Salvadorans learned that the five hated elite battalions (including the Atlacatl) would be dissolved one by one — beginning in July and completed by November — and that the rural civil defense patrols would be gone in three months, with brutal police forces dismantled within ten.

The entire army is to be reduced by half within two years and the FMLN converted to a strictly political force over a nine month period. The U.N. Security Council moved quickly to approve the addition of another 1,000 staff to the existing ONUSAL verification mission. According to Margerita Valencia of Copapayo, "All of a sudden it has hit people. It is a changed atmosphere. People are saying, 'Wow, something is really happening here.'"

Agreements achieved in the negotiations are in the areas of human rights guarantees, constitutional changes, reform of the armed forces, the creation of a civilian police force, economic and social reform, assurances for FMLN political participation, mechanics of the cease fire and internationally supervised implementation.

In addition to the changes described above, some of the other highlights include: subjugation of the military to civilian control; suspension of forced recruitment; purging the armed forces of human rights abuses; reorganization of the judicial branch; replacement of the National Police with a new civilian police force which will include FMLN members in its advisory committee and will be open to participation by FMLN ex-combatants; implementation of an agrarian reform program with adequate credit for campesinos; legalization of the current land tenancy in FMLN control zones; participation of all sectors, including the FMLN, in the development of a National Reconstruction Plan; government assistance to war wounded from both sides, as well as to civilian victims and families of the disappeared; establishment of a Truth Commission of international membership to investigate notorious human rights cases; freedom for all political prisoners; legalization of the FMLN as a political party; the free return of all exiles; legalization of FMLN radio stations; creation of the oversight body, the National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (COPAZ) with balanced

political participation; reestablishment of ONUSAL to enforce the 1990 human rights agreement; and internationally supervised restriction of the military to their barracks and FMLN combatants to regions in their control zones during the cease fire period.

The U.S. government, to all appearances, seems ready at last to let the Salvadoran war end. At the eleventh hour of the talks, the U.S. joined Mexico, Spain, Venezuela and Colombia as a guarantor of the settlement, and U.S. ambassador to the U.N. Thomas Pickering and Assistant Secretary of State Bernard Aronson intervened and apparently helped to dissolve the New Year's Eve deadlock. The next day, Aronson and Col. Mark Hamilton, who heads the U.S. Military Group in El Salvador, paid a surprise visit to stunned FMLN negotiators in their hotel room. Later Aronson said, "I felt it would be useful to tell them to their faces that we wanted to make peace and supported the accords, that we believed in the reforms that have been negotiated." We shall see.

Despite the magnitude of the negotiated changes, its hard to accept that El Salvador will not have its July 19, its moment of unqualified victory that explains and compensates for so much struggle and suffering. In an interview about the accords, FMLN leader Ana Guadalupe Martinez said, "For us, after two years of negotiations, the end is very emotional. In general, we're satisfied, although each of us wanted more. We will always believe it was insufficient, that the country needs many changes and they must happen rapidly."

It has been the great achievement of the Left in El Salvador, though, not to lose sight of the fact that revolution is ultimately not about winning a war but about bettering peoples' lives. A changed world demanded different tactics, but the dreams and goals are no different. Even under the brutally repressive conditions of their war years, Salvadorans have made progress toward those dreams. The coming peace, however tentative and incomplete, can only make their work easier. According to Margarita Valencia, "We are used to this — used to things taking just a little bit longer than expected."

- Joyce Bowers

Thanks also to Jim Shapiro and Francisco Segovia Ruiz for their help with their article.

Status of the Peace Accord

Though the peace treaty signed between the FMLN and the ARENA government effectively silenced the guns in El Salvador, verbal battles intensified after the cease-fire began.

Both the FMLN and the government continue to trade accusations of treaty violations. Each side has called attention to the other's failure to comply with points of the accords which call for troop concentration in specific locations. The government admitted to reassigning some troops who they had promised were to be decommissioned, and both sides fell behind in their required steps towards compliance within a month after the treaty was signed.

Death squad activity has continued, and even intensified in some regions of El Salvador, including the representative of one of El Salvador's largest labor federations. One group opposed to the peace agreement even threatened the Defense Minister, while another is sending death threats by fax, and falsely signing them from the FMLN.

The government's refusal to negotiate with teachers who were asking for basic benefits and a \$50 monthly increase in salaries erupted into a nationwide strike, with 25,000 teachers walking off the job. Disputes over land granted to cooperative communities continue as well. The Bush administration continues to provide military aid to El Salvador.

Cut Aid, and See Democracy Abort

■ **El Salvador:** After 10 years, peace is within sight. Keep U.S. funding alive until a cease-fire can be achieved.

By ALFREDO CRISTIANI

SAN SALVADOR—For the first time in a decade, El Salvador is on the threshold of peace. In the 15 months since I was elected president, in an internationally monitored exercise of democratic freedom, nothing has taken precedence over the pursuit of a just and lasting settlement of the bitter and bloody conflict that has wracked our small country.

We have made important headway in education, land reform and the judicial system, while our agricultural and manufacturing sectors have nearly doubled their productivity. In the critical area of human rights, we recently instituted a 24-hour office to monitor and investigate all allegations of violations.

During the past 10 years, El Salvador has accomplished what took Western democracies a century to achieve. Salvadorans are proud that our young democracy has survived, with strong American assistance, despite continuing guerrilla violence promoted from outside our borders. Hardly a day goes by that a bomb doesn't explode or a power station isn't hit with rockets. Yet we are more determined than ever to achieve a process of reconciliation. This includes the prosecution of those responsible for the Jesuit murders last November.

Let me emphasize that our own moral agenda requires that justice be served. In fact, last month I waived presidential prerogative and testified before the judge. The military high command has committed itself to full cooperation with the presiding justice, Judge Ricardo Zamora, and the case is moving forward. Complaints about a lack of rapid progress are unfair. President Bush cannot interfere in—or accelerate the handling of—the Noriega case any more than I can force the pace of Judge Zamora's investigation.

My government is now engaged in intensive, U.N.-mediated negotiations to end the war. Despite the avowed goal of FMLN guerrillas to establish a Marxist state by force, we have met with them at the peace table five times since April. In

July the FMLN and the government signed a human-rights pact that includes a pledge to observe basic human rights and an agreement to create a U.N.-monitored human-rights commission. For all Salvadorans, this is a watershed agreement.

Despite this progress, the guerrillas still refuse to accept a cease-fire, and until then, the United Nations will not be able to begin its critical work of verifying the procedures established under the human-rights accord.

Indeed, during the August round of negotiations, the FMLN presented a proposal that was far more harsh and unreasonable than their previous position: They demanded the immediate expulsion of more than 200 military officers and a total restructuring of the armed forces. All this before they even agree to a cease-fire.

things to provoke us into walking away from the negotiating table. It didn't work. We shall strive to negotiate a political settlement until there is peace, no matter how many times the FMLN attacks.

The FMLN is suggesting that another offensive is imminent; indeed, a French woman was apprehended recently while trying to smuggle a large cache of sophisticated weaponry into our country from Honduras. After 11 bloody years, it seems the FMLN still believes that it can accomplish with violence what it can't achieve through the democratic process. U.S. military assistance has been crucial to bringing us through the dark periods to the threshold of peace.

There is a move in the U.S. Congress—a response to the involvement by members of a military unit in the Jesuit murders case—to cut U.S. security assistance by half. Promoters of the cut argue that it will severely restrict our national defense forces and force our government into quick concessions.

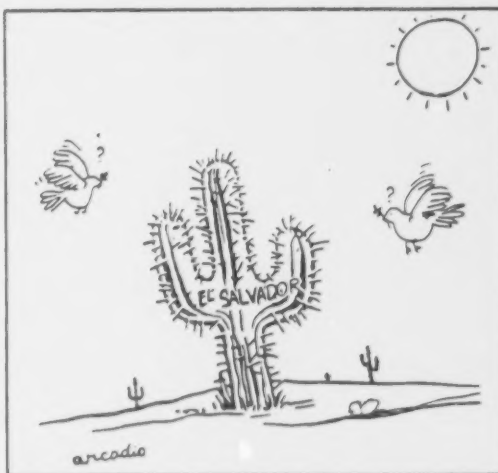
Cutting aid will not end the war quickly; in fact, it may prolong it. The FMLN guerrillas are looking for a signal that the U.S. will abandon its earlier resolve, thus giving them grounds to continue the pursuit of their objectives by force.

I have made it abundantly clear that military reform, including a major reduction in the size of our armed forces, is a priority for my government. But while more than two-thirds of our soldiers are simply standing guard over our electrical power system and economic infrastructure, it is absurd for us to dismantle our defenses unilaterally before a cease-fire agreement.

Instead, I urge the continuation of full U.S. military assistance to El Salvador until the FMLN agrees to a cease-fire. When this is achieved, I am prepared to decline half of all available U.S. military aid. Our goal remains to free our people from the constant fear of attack and to incorporate the FMLN into the democratic process so that decisions are made with ballots, not bullets.

As discussions on military assistance resume on Capitol Hill, I respectfully urge Congress to support the peace process and not encourage the FMLN to believe that Washington is giving them the excuse to walk away from the peace talks or to launch a new offensive.

Alfredo Cristiani is the president of El Salvador.



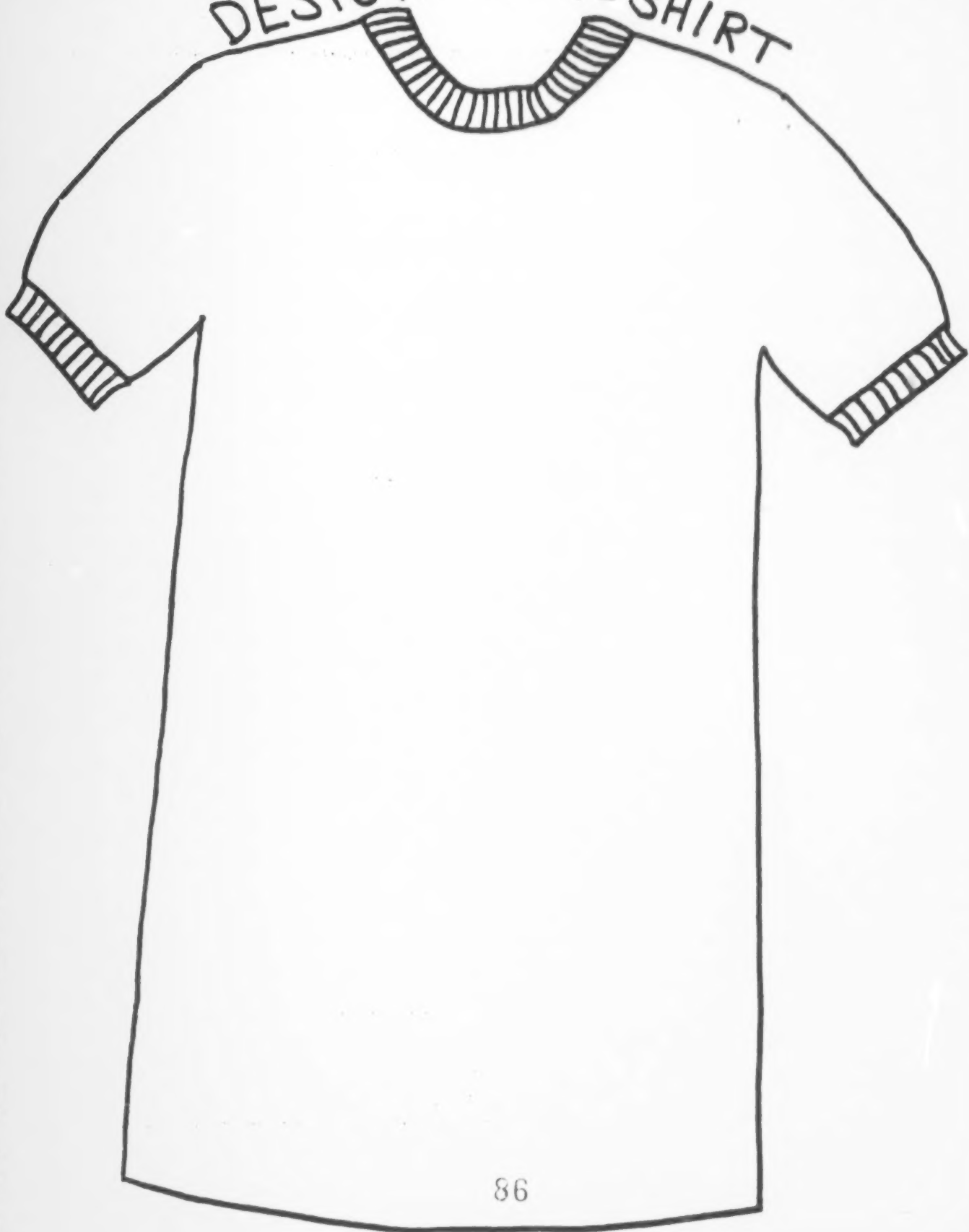
ARCADIO / La Nación, San Jose, Costa Rica

The Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador, Gregorio Rosa Chavez, as well as Congressman Joe Moakley (D-Mass.), have criticized the FMLN for putting forward what seems to be a new, amorphous list of regressive, unrealistic proposals.

While negotiating peace, the guerrillas continue their attacks. The day before the talks were announced by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, an FMLN car bomb killed six people, including one civilian, and injured dozens. In July the FMLN assassinated two off-duty military officers. During August's negotiations, the guerrillas attacked my office with mortars and artillery.

We believe that the FMLN did these

DESIGN A T-SHIRT



LILA

Lila is a Salvadoran woman living illegally in the United States. She has been denied asylum as a political refugee.

"I left because I had been thirty-two months in jail, from September 1980 through June 1983. They simply accused me of being subversive. I worked in the Ministry of Education - a government agency. In the evening, I went to the National University, studying mathematics. Well, the persecution got worse and worse from 1979 on. From March 1980 on, there was a constant state of siege: the government needed no orders to enter one's house, to detain you, to take you from the streets. They needed no proof, nothing but suspicion. Well, from 1979 on, anyone could be captured, and many were. Many died and disappeared, for the simple accusations of being 'suspicious.' Therefore, I needed to be accused of nothing.

"I was captured in a market area of San Salvador. At the moment I was taken, I was working, and two men entered the bathroom where I was. I asked them what they were doing. They said, "You whore, you put a bomb in there." They took me to an office and then to the Barracks of the National Police.

"I knew they were from the death squad because they had no uniforms - they were dressed as civilians. They took me to the barracks and for sixteen days interrogated and tortured me. They asked me personal questions, about myself, about my family. I was not permitted to sleep. I told them I worked for the government in the Ministry of Education. They said, 'Aha, you are in ANDES, a subversive organization' (National Association of Salvadoran Educators), but I wasn't; I worked for the government.

"All the time, I thought I'd end up as so many I'd seen: decapitated, in pieces on the highway. Well, between the tortures and the electric shocks, they also took pictures of me, and used the hood. All the time, the torturers wore masks. They kept telling me to admit I was a subversive. In the morning, they told me to sign a blank piece of paper. Well, the paper was blank; I couldn't sign it. They could have written anything on it. After nights of this, I finally signed the paper, but it was blank when I signed it.

"After this, they took me to a bare cell where I stayed without eating for eight days. My family had been looking for me, looking at the cadavers on the street, looking for me. The National Police denied I was there. A member of the International Red Cross saw me in the cell, and I was transferred to the women's prison in San Salvador.

"When I was transferred to the women's prison, they told my papa that I was there. That's where I stayed for thirty-two months. I was taken there in October. I was accused before a military judge. I had no lawyer, no representation. Decree 507, which legalized this treatment, was passed in December 1980. I was captured in

September. I was accused under military law, before a military court, of subversion. The intent perhaps was to terrify my family. When Decree 507 was passed, a mountain of people filled the jails, but all the time I was held, I never knew what I was accused of doing. Nor did my family know when or if I'd be released. Some people came and were released in three months, some in six months - it was completely arbitrary.

"By 1983, the number of political prisoners had increased considerably: men, women and children. When Reagan took office, he had to certify the Salvadoran government's performance in human rights. Well, before this, they staged a series of maneuvers to make it appear that there was progress. There was an amnesty for political prisoners. About five-hundred left the women's prison. There was a great cry in the press that the Salvadoran government was democratic, that it was just, that it was changing. Well, I left with ten other women, but as we left, they brought in fifteen more. Nor was it made public that the death squad followed us to our houses. On the first day, of the ten women who left with me, two were killed. They took our names and addresses as we left. It happened that many of us who were released were followed and killed.

"In my house there was a brother who lived here in the United States. The Hacienda Police had killed a brother of mine in April 1981. He was working as a translator for some journalists. There was a report that the guerrillas had seized a power station. When the journalists arrived, there were no guerrillas, there was only the army. My brother and another journalist were killed. An American reporter was wounded. The Hacienda Police would not let the International Red Cross come, and my brother bled to death on the ground.

"When one's fear gets too intense, she must do something. That's when I came here. I went to an employment agency here in New York. There are a lot of them here. They asked me for fifty dollars to send me to a job. Well, I got to a factory where they asked me to work twelve hours a day for less than minimum wage. I went back to the agency to complain, and they told me I was illegal. They told me to get out of there.

"I got a job as a housekeeper in New Jersey finally, six days a week for fifty dollars. In a factory, there's the fear that the *migra*¹ will raid it.

"In September, I became sick. My teeth became infected. I couldn't even open my mouth, the muscles were so stiff. The pain was horrible. My sister took me to a public hospital. They asked me if I had Medicare, Medicaid, all this. I was five hours at the hospital and the doctor told me there was nothing wrong with me - that it was a psychological condition. For this, I had to pay twenty-eight dollars. He told me to go to a psychiatrist. For this, I'd have to pay forty dollars a visit, besides having to give him my address, my phone number, all this. We all have a great fear of the INS.

¹migra: Spanish slang for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (I.N.S.)

"Fifteen days passed and I was unable to talk. All I could do was take aspirin. It could be that it was psychological. For instance, my jaw muscles have started to hurt again."

"After one year in jail, they tortured me so badly that my jaw and face swelled up, and I bled from my eyes. Perhaps it was this coming back."

"Your country does not know (what) is happening. There are few sanctuaries here: this is one way you can help. You are human, as we are. You can help us. You can protest this aid that your government sends to El Salvador.² You can help us, here. This is the only country in the world that refuses to admit that we Salvadorans are refugees. If the North American people protest this, you can change it."

"Your government says we are economic refugees. Look, there is war in our country. In my house, I never dreamed of coming here. I wanted to be a professor of mathematics, not to clean houses. I did not want to live as a person without a future. I have no way to help myself here, nor to help others. The people, when they know reality, can change it. Your people here do not know the reality."

"I always think of returning to Salvador. No one lives better here in the United States. I try to write my family, but it is with great fear, not for myself here, but for them. Every day in Salvador, there appear more diseases. For example, now there's a lot of conjunctivitis. Ours is a small country, and very crowded. When one person gets sick, it spreads very rapidly. There's a lot of dengue fever there now. There's no medicine, and the doctors just say, 'You have a virus.' It's hard for the doctors: they can't get any more training; there's no medicine."

"An office worker in Salvador gets about five hundred colones a month. To buy a box of powdered milk, with which you could feed a baby for perhaps two weeks, you pay seventy colones. That's the way life is in El Salvador. Can you North Americans imagine that?"

² As of 1989, the United States provides the government of El Salvador with \$1.5 million in economic and military aid every day.

Reprinted with permission from *The National Reporter*, Summer 1985.



U.S. Department of Justice

United States Attorney
Northern District of Oklahoma

460 United States Courthouse
333 West 4th Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103

September 30, 1983

Reverend David Caldwell
Pastor
College Hill Presbyterian Church
700 S. Columbia
Tulsa, OK 74104

Dear Reverend Caldwell:

I noted from the Wednesday, September 28, 1983, edition of the Tulsa Tribune that elders of the College Hill Presbyterian Church voted unanimously to make the church a stopover point on "the underground railroad" that purportedly transports "political refugees" to host churches in the midwest and east.

The article quoted you as saying that the elders decided to take the step even though "providing sanctuary" is against federal law.

Before you and your well meaning associates take steps, the consequences of which you are not aware, I would like to call several things to your attention.

Harboring illegal aliens is a violation of federal law. It is a felony. Please note Title 8, U.S.C. §1324 and case authorities in support including U.S. v. Lopez, 521 F.2d 437, cert. denied, 423 U.S. 995, 46 L.Ed.2d 368 (1975). Punishment for violation is a fine not exceeding \$2,000 or imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or both for each alien in respect to whom a violation of this subsection occurs.

I respect the integrity of your beliefs but urge that you understand that not every illegal alien is an oppressed political refugee. Those who are are afforded opportunities within the immigration laws to legitimize their stay and/or apply for political asylum.

If illegal aliens are knowingly harbored by you or members of your church, you will subject yourself to felony prosecution.

I also wish to advise you that any motor vehicle used in transportation of any illegal alien is subject to seizure and forfeiture by the Immigration Service. In the last fiscal year, 6,500 such forfeitures occurred in the United States.

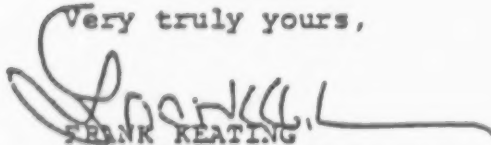
Reverend David Caldwell
Page Two
September 30, 1983

This office will spare no effort to prosecute offenders for violation of federal law be they narcotics traffickers, oil and gas swindlers, forgers of U.S. Government securities or alien smugglers. The Congress passed the laws and we intend to enforce them.

Search warrants will be sought for your premises or any premises believed to be harboring illegal aliens and those responsible will be arrested and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

If I may further clarify my position, I shall be happy to at your convenience.

Very truly yours,


FRANK KEATING
United States Attorney

..FK:kk ..

The Politics of Asylum

Half a million Salvadorans have fled to the United States since 1979. Most arrive without papers; some try to avoid detection, and some petition our Government for political asylum. But either course is a risky one.

In fiscal 1984, only 328 applications for asylum were granted, while 13,045 were denied. Before ruling on the requests, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) sends them to the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, which gives its "advisory opinions" on the applications. The INS almost invariably follows the State Department's recommendations.

To be granted asylum, an immigrant must demonstrate a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. The Asylum Project of the American Civil Liberties Union has documented the deaths of fifty applicants who were deported to El Salvador. But the State Department regards Salvadorans entering the United States as "economic migrants," not political refugees.

Compared with refugees from other countries, particularly those from Eastern Europe, few Salvadorans are granted asylum. They face an approval rate of about 2 percent, as opposed to a 29 percent rate for Polish applicants, 44 percent for Romanians, and 78 percent for Soviet applicants.

"For an El Salvadoran national to receive a favorable asylum advisory opinion, he or she must have a classic textbook case," states an internal INS memorandum of June 1982. "On the other hand, the State Department Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs sometimes recommends favorable action where the applicant cannot meet the individual well-founded-fear-of-persecution test.

"This happened in December 1981," the memo continues, "a week after martial law was declared in Poland. Seven Polish crewmen jumped ship and applied for asylum in Alaska. Even before seeing the asylum applications, a State Department official said 'We're going to approve them.' All the applications, in the view of INS senior officials, were extremely weak. In one instance, the crewman said the reason he feared returning to Poland was that he had once attended a Solidarity rally (he was one of the more than 100,000 participants at the rally). The crewman had never been a member of Solidarity, never participated in any political activity, etc. His claim was approved within forty-eight hours."

Such political bias is hardly new. Before 1980, the law defined a refugee as "a person fleeing persecution in a communist or communist-dominated country or in the general area of the Middle East." But Congress changed the law to encompass anyone fleeing persecution, regardless of ideology or geographic origin. The emphasis on political considerations was dropped in favor of "special humanitarian concern."

But in practice, the Reagan Administration has adhered to the old standard, flouting the Refugee Act of 1980. In September 1981, then Attorney General William French Smith stated the Administration's criteria for judging asylum requests:

- "1. Priority to refugees with close ties to the United States through relative or past employment by our Government."
- "2. Response to situations where the United States has stood uniquely as a symbol of freedom."
- "3. Advancement of broad foreign policy objectives."
- "4. Opportunities for resettlement in other countries and practical limits on U.S. resources."

The role of politics in admitting foreigners was acknowledged in May 1983 by Richard Feen, the Special Consultant to the Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs: "To deny entry to an ex-South Vietnamese official or an anti-communist peasant from Laos would be a form of heresy, if not treason to the cause of democracy," Feen said.

The Reagan Administration has reduced by 50 percent the number of admissions for Latin American refugees. In 1981, it allocated 4,000 places; in 1983, the figure fell to 2,000, as the whole entry program was scaled down.

"If it is the case that liberalism as the dominant ideology is on the wane," said Feen, "notions of communal guilt and good samaritanism will no longer have the same strength to sway middle-class America. ... This being the case, the volume of immigration into this country may be even further restricted."

Currently, the Government faces a backlog of 170,000 asylum claims, but only three full-time staff persons work on them at the State Department. There are "no rules, no yardstick" for evaluating the requests, according to a deposition by Jules Bassin, officer of asylum affairs at the State Department.

Bassin, who processes 800 Salvadoran applications a month, does not speak Spanish and has not been to El Salvador since 1942. He conceded that he has no information about what happens to those deported to El Salvador, and he has not sought such information. He is not aware of civilian death threats, nor does he know of torture, abductions, and disappearances in El Salvador.

This is the official who helps decide the fate of thousands of Salvadoran refugees.

—ALLAN EBERT-MINER

(Allan Ebert-Miner is a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C.)

Copyright (c) 1985, The Progressive, Inc. Reprinted by permission from *The Progressive*, Madison, WI 53703.

“Never doubt that a small group
of thoughtful, committed citizens can
change the world. Indeed, it is the only
thing that ever has.”

Margaret Mead

“When the first two hundred letters came, the guards gave me back my clothes.

When the next two hundred letters came, the prison director came to see me. When the next pile of letters arrived, the director got in touch with his superior. The letters kept coming: three thousand of them. The President was informed. The letters still kept arriving, and the President called the prison and told them to let me go.”

A released prisoner of conscience from the Dominican Republic

Post Test

Write true before each statement that is true and false before each statement that is false.

- _____ 1. El Salvador is part of both Central America and North America.
- _____ 2. El Salvador is one of the smallest countries in Latin America.
- _____ 3. The capital city of El Salvador is Managua.
- _____ 4. El Salvador has resources that U.S. corporations are interested in obtaining.
- _____ 5. People in El Salvador can expect to live longer than people in the U.S.
- _____ 6. El Salvador has a very high LITERACY RATE.
- _____ 7. El Salvador has a very low INFANT MORTALITY RATE.
- _____ 8. The Roman Catholic Church has very little influence on the lives of the Salvadoran people.
- _____ 9. There has been a conflict between various political forces in El Salvador.
- _____ 10. Many Salvadorans have left El Salvador and fled to the U.S.
- _____ 11. The U.S. government has sent hundreds of dollars in MILITARY AID to the government of El Salvador.
- _____ 12. Everyone in the United States agrees that the U.S. government should aid the government of El Salvador.
- _____ 13. The government of El Salvador has been accused of violating the HUMAN RIGHTS of its citizens.
- _____ 14. The U.S. Government has supported the Peace Accords between the government of El Salvador and the opposition forces.

RESOURCE CENTER OF THE AMERICAS

317 - 17th Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414-2077 • 612-627-9445 • FAX 612-627-9450

El Salvador Recommended Reading List

Ashes of Izalco. Claribel Alegria. Curbstone. 1989. A novel of the Matanza, the massacre of 30,000 Salvadorans by order of General Martinez in 1932.

Bitter Grounds: Roots of Revolt in El Salvador. Liisa North. Between the Lines. 1981. A comprehensive history of El Salvador from the mid-19th century to the present.

Condoning the Killing: Ten Years of Massacres in El Salvador. Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean. EPICA. 1990. Documents 32 massacres in El Salvador. Based on a report by the Commission for the Defense of Human Rights in Central America (CODEHUCA).

A Decade of War: El Salvador Confronts the Future. Anjali Sundaram and George Gelber, eds. Monthly Review Press. 1990. Reviews the history of the ten-year civil war and analyzes all of the political forces in El Salvador as both sides face a new decade.

A Dream Compels Us: Voices of Salvadoran Women. New Americas Press. 1989. The lives and stories of women from various sectors of Salvadoran society. Includes interviews with members of the FMLN, labor unionists, housewives, teachers, and others.

El Salvador: A Country Guide. Tom Barry. Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center. 1990. Provides an historical and statistical overview of El Salvador. Includes graphs, chronology, and bibliography.

El Salvador: A Spring Whose Water Never Runs Dry. Forward by Jon Sobrino. 1990. EPICA, CRISPAZ, Religious Task Force on Central America. A collection of testimonies from Christian Base Communities in El Salvador gathered over the last ten years.

El Salvador: Central America and the New Cold War. Marvin E. Gettleman, Patrick Lacefield, Louis Menache, David Mermelstein, and Ronald Radosh. Grove Press. 1981. Challenges the Reagan administration's argument that the East-West conflict is manifesting itself in Central America and exposes the use of El Salvador as testing ground for a "new" U.S. foreign policy.

El Salvador: Testament of Terror. Joe Fish and Cristina Sganga. Olive Branch Press. 1988. Combines eye-witness reporting, personal testimony and photographs to show Washington's war in El Salvador.

Miguel Marmol. Roque Dalton. Curbstone. 1982. The biography of Miguel Marmol, a Salvadoran labor activist and a survivor of the Matanza.

One Day of Life. Manlio Argueta. Vintage Books. 1983. A novel of one day in the life of a typical peasant family caught in the terror and corruption of contemporary El Salvador.

Prolonging the Agony: The Human Cost of Low Intensity Warfare in El Salvador. John Maclean. El Salvador Committee for Human Rights. 1987. Compiles eye-witness accounts, personal testimonies, and background information in a picture of the suffering inflicted by low-intensity warfare.

Report on Human Rights in El Salvador. Americas Watch and the American Civil Liberties Union. 1982. Documents human rights abuses in El Salvador and urges then President Reagan not to renew military aid to the government of El Salvador. Seven supplements to this report were been published between 1982 and 1989.